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O ~~Most just~~ Father of Mercies

we humbly acknowledge the meanness & imperfection ~~of our Duty~~ of our Prayers in ~~our Devotions~~ comparison of thee to whom they are addressed, the Almighty Sovereign & Creator of Heaven & Earth! Yet for the sake of thy blessed Son our ~~Lord & Redeemer~~ Advocate Jesus Christ (who has promised ^ thy graciousness & mercy acceptance ~~to the prayers of~~ to all who duly ask, according to thy will, in his name) help our infirmities & pardon our inattention & unworthiness ~~in our Duty~~ in asking as well as our unworthiness to ask! and ~~O~~ thy ~~Holy~~ Holy Spirit endue us with a just & careful sense of thy continual Presence that we may implore ~~thy~~ the Divine ~~favour~~ Blessing & Protection to us & ours with ~~such~~ ~~true faith in him that promised~~ & religious sincerity in asking and may ~~receive what~~ not only thy merciful acceptance of our imperfect petitions but also whatever else may be needful for us, through the merits of our blessed Redeemer & Mediator Jesus Christ. Amen.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.

COMPOSED

From his own Manuscripts,

AND OTHER

AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS FAMILY

AND OF THE

AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

BY PRINCE HOARE.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS,

BY THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

"INTAMINATIS.....HONORIBUS."

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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CORRIGENDA—VOL. II.

At the following places reference should have been made to the Additional Notes to the Volume :—

At page 160, line 4	At page 231, line 11
211, — 21	254, — 14
230, — 18	315, at the end of Notes.

At page 318, line 5 :—*for* Rev., *read* Venerable.

379, — 11 :—*for* a work now preparing by him for the press, *read* a later work by the same Author.

402, — 6 from bottom :—*for* them, *read* him.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART III.

Sierra Leone.

SETTLEMENT OF A COLONY ON THAT COAST — ITS HISTORY — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ST. GEORGE'S BAY COMPANY — DISTRESSES AND DANGERS OF THE COLONY — ASSISTANCE GRANTED BY PARLIAMENT — SURRENDER OF THE TERRITORY TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

MR. SHARP'S LETTERS — LETTERS FROM THE SETTLERS — HE SENDS A VESSEL TO THEIR RELIEF — SOLICITS THE PROTECTION OF THE GOVERNMENT — OBTAINS A CHARTER FOR THE COMPANY.

ANECDOTES OF NAIMBANNA, PRINCE OF SIERRA LEONE.

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PART III.

1786.

CHAP. I.

A THIRD event, which distinguishes the life of Mr. Sharp, followed closely on the establishment of American Episcopacy. The whole of that successful transaction was, indeed, scarcely completed, when a combination of unexpected circumstances produced the first attempt to found the FREE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE.

"In the year 1786," says the Obituary Account * before noticed, "Mr. Granville Sharp was occupied in humanely trying to remedy an inconvenience, which had grown out of his own benevolent exertions in behalf of the African Slaves. When the case of Somerset was decided, there were many slaves, who had been brought over by their masters, in the metropolis; and although an instance has been stated, in the very year now mentioned, of a Negro rescued with difficulty from the attempt of his master to

* See note in p. 247, vol. i.

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kidnap him, and to force him to a ship lying in the Downs, yet few attempts of that nature had of late been hazarded. The Negroes, therefore, who had been brought to England,—being locked up, as it were, in London, and having now no masters to support them, (many of them unaccustomed to any useful handicraft or calling), and having besides no parish which they could call their own,—fell by degrees into great distress, so that they were alarmingly conspicuous throughout the streets as common beggars. As Mr. Sharp was their known patron, they had all flocked to him, in their turn, for support: he had considered them as orphans, who had some title to his care; and he had occasionally relieved them. But their number being great (about four hundred), he found that he could not relieve them daily, consistently with his engagements to others. He had many private pensioners, to whom annual sums, and these to a considerable amount, had been promised, and regularly paid: he could not, therefore, take upon him the entire maintenance of his African orphans. In this dilemma, he formed a scheme for their future permanent support. He determined upon sending them to some spot in Africa, the general land of their ancestors, where —when they were once landed, under a proper leader, and with proper provisions for a time, and implements of husbandry — they might, with but moderate industry, provide for themselves."

The general accuracy of this account is confirmed

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by the MS. Notes, with the exception that Mr. Sharp's determination to send the settlers to Africa did not originate merely in his own view of their misery, but was the consequence of applications made to him by the distressed Blacks themselves.

In a letter also to his brother, dated January 1788, he says—

"The settlers consisted chiefly of Blacks and People of Colour, who had served in the army and navy during the late war; and, having imprudently spent all their earnings, they fell into extreme poverty, and were starving about the streets, till they were relieved, for some time, *by a voluntary subscription of charitable people.*

"In the mean time, a proposal was made to them by the late Mr. Smeathman *, to form a free settlement at Sierra Leone. Many of them came to consult me about the proposal: sometimes they came in large bodies together. Upon inquiring among themselves, I found that several of them had been on the spot; and they assured me that there was much fine wood-land unoccupied in that part of the coast. This account was confirmed to me by several other channels, and more particularly by a young Negro man, a native of Sierra Leone, whom I happily saved just at that time from slavery."

To form and direct a colony of this nature, composed from men of ardent passions, whose only lessons had been stripes, and whom experience had

* An ingenious and honourable man, who had lived for some time at the foot of the Sierra Leone Mountains.—*Obituary Account.*

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instructed to start with dread from their fellow-creatures, demanded a mind and character fraught with all the resources which political knowledge and resolution could supply. But the scope of human action contained no enterprise which, if sanctioned by the precepts of virtue and Christianity, could, "in the shape of difficulty or danger," deter Granville from attempting, or make him shrink from the labour of pursuing it. As soon as he had conversed with Smeathman, he seized every opportunity of improving his knowledge of the local qualities of the land which was designed for his new settlement; and he drew up for the settlers a code of laws, not marked with any refined traits of subtlety and Machiavelian policy, but founded on principles of the purest rectitude, and consistent with the religious as well as moral precepts of the scriptural Theocracy.

A letter, written by him at the outset of this difficult enterprise, demonstrates the temper and the views with which it had been undertaken. It comprises, after his usual manner, an extensive view of circumstances relative to the subject before him; and is also, as usual, an example of the clear, benevolent, and deeply-religious mind of the writer.

To his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

"My Lord, "Old Jewry, 1st August, 1786.

"A very unexpected business having taken up my whole time, ever since I had the honour of waiting on your

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Grace, I think it right to state the circumstances; the more especially because they are extraordinary.

"Last Friday morning early, two poor Negroes came to inform me that one of their friends was trepanned by his master on shipboard at Gravesend, to be sent as a slave to Barbadoes *. All the judges being out of town on the circuit, I could not obtain either a warrant or a writ of Habeas Corpus, after the most unwearied endeavours, till late on Saturday night; and in the mean time I had notice that the ship *was sailed from Gravesend*. However, I sent off the writ by an attorney and the young man's friends, in a post-chaise, that same night to Deal, in hopes that the ship might not yet have quitted the Channel; and they happily arrived in the Downs just in time to save the poor despairing man. A delay even of a single minute would have been fatal; for the ship was under sail, and the anchor then weighing up! They brought the young man safe to me yesterday at noon; and, after proper consultation, I sent him this morning with officers, *to catch his master;* but he had prudently decamped, and fled to Scotland. The young man confessed that he had intended to jump into the sea as soon as it was dark, in order to avoid slavery by death.

"This subject, and the temper of mind into which it has thrown me, naturally prompt me to remind your Grace, that the abominable, wicked laws of Barbadoes, which expressly tolerate the wilful murder of a slave, still exist, to the disgrace of this kingdom; and that the ——— estate in that guilty island (now suffering under God's apparent displeasure) is still cultivated by involuntary servitude; though the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel have long experienced the extreme impropriety

* The case of Harry Demane, and probably the same that is alluded to in Mr. Clarkson's Obituary Account.

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and unprofitableness of that baneful mode of cultivation. When that business was mentioned at the last meeting of the Society, I could scarcely refrain from declaring my mind about it; but thought it might be improper to interfere, as the business was already referred to a Committee.

"The answer of the Society, signed by Dr. ———, to Mr. Benezet, many years ago, gave me great concern. Mr. Benezet himself sent me a copy of it from Philadelphia, and earnestly entreated my assistance to answer it. I had too much veneration for the Society to permit their opinion to be called publicly in question: but I fully answered their *missionary*, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Th—ps—n, who had attempted publicly to vindicate the African Slave-trade; and sent my answer to Mr. Benezet in MS., which was printed in America by the Quakers *.

"At every opportunity of leisure afterwards, I applied myself closely to the Scriptures, to search for any particular texts which might seem to afford some excuse for Dr. ———'s contemptuous answer to Mr. Benezet. The result of the examination (which was careful and severe) appeared about ten years ago in several tracts—'The Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God;' 'The Law of Passive Obedience;' 'The Law of Liberty;' and 'The Law of Retribution.' The principal object of my writing was to remove the stigma thrown on our holy religion, as if it could be deemed capable of affording any sanction to a complicated system of iniquity. I thought it my duty to appeal at that time to the whole body of Bishops, in 'The Law of Retribution,' calling earnestly upon them, in the name of God, *to stand up for the land, and make up the hedge, to save* their country from the fatal consequences of slavery and oppression.

* See Appendix, No. ix.

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"It is also my duty to inform your Grace, that I have lately heard several hints of an intention to bring in a bill for a duty on Negroes in England, and to compel masters, who bring them over, to give a bond for 100*l.* that they will carry them away again; which would annul the Habeas Corpus Act, and other equitable laws for the protection of strangers.

"Nineteen years ago I began to vindicate these laws; and fourteen years ago obtained a complete acknowledgment of their efficacy, whereby the West-Indian slave-holders were deterred from bringing with them such swarms of Negro attendants into this island.

"The present set of unfortunate Negroes that are starving in our streets, were brought here on very different occasions. Some, indeed, have been brought as servants, but chiefly by officers; others were royalists from America; but most are seamen, who have navigated the King's ships from the East and West Indies, or have served in the war, and are thereby entitled to ample protection, and a generous requital. But the proposed Bill, on the contrary, can tend to no other purpose than to disgrace the kingdom by a toleration of slavery even in this free island, and will unavoidably counteract all that has been done with infinite labour and great pecuniary expense. When I look back upon the labour and its effects, and consider the *inability*, natural *slowness*, and at that time *uninformed* state of the *instrument*, I have ample reason to be satisfied that the weak endeavours were utterly inadequate to the effects of them,—which must, therefore, of course, be attributed, not surely to *chance*, but to God's providence alone! This, I confess, is the ground of my confidence for asserting, that if any act of the Legislature shall be framed to set up uncharitable and unchristian distinctions of complexion in this kingdom, in order once

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more to introduce slavery, it will be an abomination which cannot fail of drawing down upon us still heavier marks of the Divine displeasure than those we have lately experienced.

"I formerly wrote to your Grace's predecessor, Dr. Cornwallis, on this subject; and I now earnestly renew my solicitation to your Grace on the same account.

"I entreat your Grace's protection and paternal care towards the poor Black strangers, who are now soliciting for a new settlement at Sierra Leone. I sincerely believe, that if Mr. Fraser was ordained as a missionary to attend them, which he earnestly desires, he would be capable of doing great good among them: he seems to be modest, sensible, sober, and steady; and as the settlers earnestly desire to have a Clergyman with them, I humbly submit to your Grace, whether so favourable an opportunity of promoting religious instruction in the wilds of Africa should be suffered to pass away without improvement. Mr. F. assures me, that, notwithstanding his education in the Church of Scotland, he now prefers the discipline of the Church of England, and most heartily wishes to be employed in the ministry. He proposes to go to Africa with the settlers, whether he is ordained or not; so that no person but himself can be at all answerable for the danger of the attempt, in case it should prove unfortunate; and it was only this idea of danger and uncertainty which induced me to withdraw my proposal at the last meeting of the Society.

"The sending a Clergyman with so large a body of people, is absolutely necessary, to preserve order and decorum among them; and Mr. F. cannot possibly do so much good in any other way.

"With the greatest esteem and respect," &c. &c.

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But Mr. Sharp's attention to this subject was of an earlier commencement than the period here noticed. The following singular Memorandum appears to have been the result of his first reflections on the nature of the task which he was about to undertake, and probably was succeeded by the more regular code of laws which he transmitted to the infant colony. From its date, it is evident that the idea of an African Settlement had been for a long time in his thoughts, before the attempt was made to realise the benevolent scheme;—a scheme, as will be seen, formed for a race of men *supposed* to be *uniformly open to the persuasions of reason.* It need not be added, that the scheme was of course so far impracticable, as that experience every day demonstrates the existence of numerous human beings, who, though probably alike endued at their birth with the capability of reasoning, are, by the unavoidable contingencies of education and circumstances, precluded from its advantages.

"AUGUST 1, 1783.

"The proposal for a settlement on the coast of Africa will deserve all encouragement, if the settlers are absolutely prohibited from holding any kind of *property in the persons of men as slaves*, and from selling either man, woman, or child.

"With respect to an allowance or permission to *purchase* slaves, the permission, if granted at all, must be very carefully guarded; and the price given must be considered, and declared to be, merely

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a debt for redemption, due from the person purchased to the society or state of the settlement, and not to be transferred to any one individual in it, (which would introduce domestic tyranny and traffic in the bodies of men): but the debt is to be discharged without interest, whenever the person, or his friends, can raise the money, or to be worked out by a limited proportion of service to the state, wherever the settlement is made.

"Rules must also be laid down to prevent the monopolizing of land; and a sufficient reserve must be made for public services in each township, and also for common-land, and for cottage-land in small parcels; and that all persons who have large lots of land near a township, shall rather be excluded from a share in the common-lands, than be allowed to claim shares in proportion to their bordering estates.

"That the managers entrusted with the Society's property to form the settlement, shall have no dominion or absolute power or authority, as established governors or judges, over the people, but only the power of agents or overseers for their pecuniary trust and service; for which they should be encouraged, after the first year's salary, by a due proportion or share to each man, in the increase and profits of the settlement with the proprietors who risk their property in forming it. The defence, legislation, public justice, government, and subordination of the settlers, and the union of the whole community, however large and extensive the settlement may hereafter

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become, are matters more easily to be accomplished than is generally conceived; provided the ancient Anglo-Saxon government by mutual frank-pledge, in tithings and hundreds, be duly established.

"And this, being already the *common law* of this kingdom, may be established, even if the settlement is made within the boundaries of the present *English claims*; but then the legal process in all courts must be carried on in the King's name: and the settlers must not refuse to admit a Governor, or Lieutenant, of the King's appointment, with limited authority from the Regal Power, according to the Constitution of England, whenever the Privy Council shall think proper to send one.

"But if the settlement be attempted in any other part of Africa, not claimed by European powers, the managers must obtain the consent (and association, if possible) of the *native inhabitants;* or else it may be laid out on an uninhabited part of the coast. And as the majority of the settlers will probably be African Negroes returned from slavery to their native soil, there will be no necessity to form the plan of government by the *constitutional model of England,* any farther than reason and experience may require; for we may then be at liberty to draw a precedent for government from more ancient and more perfect documents than our Saxon records—viz. from the Israelitish commonwealth under the Theocracy, purified and improved by the precepts of the Gospel; and the examples of congregational

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government among the primitive Christians, who decided their own temporal controversies as well as ecclesiastical questions.

"The Israelitish government elected judges and officers; heads of tens and fifties, hundreds and thousands (except in the extraordinary cases of prophetical judges — though these likewise were probably elected, where their superior abilities were known); the smaller divisions being included and controlled in the larger, and the individuals of all the divisions being bound to each other, in equal numerical proportions by the reciprocal ties or alliance of frank-pledge, which our Saxon ancestors, and many savage nations, in some degree maintained, probably from the patriarchal times. For all men are capable of this form of government: and if it be once properly established, there is no mode of restraining and keeping in order a promiscuous body of men so cheap, so easy, or so effectual, as that of mutual government by the principles of right in equal proportioned congregations, each of which is a constituent part of a more powerful body; wherein annually elected officers maintain order; and each individual, however violent in himself, is prevented from injuring others, by having his person and property rendered answerable for all damages which he occasions, or which he does not endeavour to prevent, as a member of the tithing where the offence is committed; for, according to the law of frank-pledge, no man is entitled to liberty, who is not duly

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pledged by his nearest neighbour for the mutual conservation of peace and right.

"Under this form of government, all public works, as entrenchments, fortifications, canals, highways, sewers, &c. &c., may be performed by a rotation of service; in which the value of attendance must be estimated, that defaulters may bear their share, or rather a double share, of the burthen. And *watch and ward*, or military service, may be defrayed in the same manner; by which means no debt will be incurred for the defence of the state, and rich funds may be obtained for the credit of a public exchequer, without any perceivable burthen to the community, by a general agreement to punish by fines or mulcts in due proportion to the wealth and possessions of the delinquent, increasing likewise by *repetition* for all offences, as well of *omission* (or neglect of public duty) as of *commission;* except murder, rape, and unnatural crimes, which, by the laws of God, are unpardonable by any community*."

In conformity with such ideas, and on the basis (it is probable) of Mr. Smeathman's design, was laid the plan of *a Free Colony at Sierra Leone*, on the coast of Africa. Mr. Smeathman was to lead the Black poor to the destined spot, as soon as due

* An enlarged account of this plan is found among Mr. Sharp's papers. It was probably the foundation of all the regulations by which the Colony was governed at its commencement.

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preparations could be made; and Granville, in the mean time, distributed to the intended settlers, from his own purse, a weekly allowance, which was to be continued till the time of their sailing.

Application was now made to the Minister of England for assistance. The Government had long regarded the numerous Negroes who begged in the streets as a nuisance, and therefore readily consented to lend a helping hand to the project. "A small weekly allowance," says Mr. Sharp, "was made from the Treasury, for the subsistence of the settlers; and navy transports were hired to carry them out."

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Bread Street, 12th April, 1786.

"Mr. Smeathman presents most respectful compliments to Mr. Sharp. Extreme fatigue prevents him having the honour of waiting on Mr. S., to acquaint him that he was introduced this day to Mr. Rose, and that it is settled that Government is to allow Mr. Smeathman 12*l.* for each person, for any number that are willing to go and settle with him.

"Mr. Smeathman indulges the flattering hopes that Mr. Sharp will continue his benevolent protection to this plan, so interesting to mankind."

At this important moment, Mr. Smeathman's impaired health suspended the execution of the plan. He was taken ill of a fever, and died in about three days. The expedition seemed now at a stand; and "Mr. Sharp stood involved in all the expenses which had attended its outset: the demurrage of the

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vessel had commenced, and the weekly pay to the settlers continued*." In this situation of affairs, the Government again interfered: provision was made for the settlers, both for transporting them, and for supplying them with necessaries during the first six or eight months of their residence in Africa; and Captain (afterwards Admiral) Thompson was appointed to accompany them in the Nautilus sloop of war, and to see the promises, given by Mr. Sharp, fulfilled toward them.

At length the little fleet sailed on the 8th of April, 1787.

As the history of this Colony, now so respectable as the cradle of African Civilization, is either little known, or the knowledge of it confined to a very limited number of persons, it will be necessary to give a cursory account of its establishment and progress; which, for the sake of clearness, will be continued, without interruption, to the period of its final surrender into the hands of Government.

It is, indeed, a history deserving, from its nature, of a more ample elucidation than the present narrative can with propriety admit. In a short portion of time and place, it contains an "abstract and brief chronicle" of the noblest virtues and the basest vices of mankind: it exhibits the conflict of savage

* Obituary Account.

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ignorance with refined cultivation, of Christian purity and benevolence with some of the worst passions that tear and deform the human breast.

The first particulars here related concerning the settlement are principally extracted from the Reports of the Directors. Mr. Sharp's own accounts of his undertaking will follow.

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CHAP. II.

THE Negroes who were sent out, in the manner and with the views already described, to form the colony of Sierra Leone, amounted to somewhat more than four hundred; to which number were added about sixty Europeans, chiefly women. On their arrival, a grant of land, of considerable extent, was obtained for their use from a neighbouring chief *. It was hoped that the remembrance of former distress, and

* "The district purchased for the settlement at Sierra Leone is nearly twice as large as the island of Barbadoes, being twenty miles square, containing 256,000 acres of land, well watered with salubrious springs, and situated on a fruitful peninsula, between two noble navigable rivers, the great river of Sierra Leone and the Sherbro' which receives the waters of many others. The peninsula rises into hills forming upon one another into lofty mountains, the sides and summits of which are covered with timber.

"The extraordinary temperature and salubrity of the air for European constitutions, in this peculiar spot of the torrid zone, has been remarked by ancient writers and by modern travellers of respectability." [Their account, however, must be allowed to have been greatly exaggerated, as the climate has in many instances proved unhealthy.] "The river has a safe deep channel for ships of any burthen; and *St. George's Bay*, the first approach to the new settlement (and so named by Captain Thompson, who carried out the settlers, having been before called Frenchman's Bay), is perhaps the finest harbour in the

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the necessity of their situation, would bring the settlers into habits of order and industry, and animate them to free productive labour.

The commencement of the enterprise was inauspicious. During a long detention of these poor people in the Channel, and during their passage to Sierra Leone, they were extremely unhealthy—in most instances, from disorders brought on board with them and aggravated by intemperance; in consequence of the delays that had occurred, they were landed in the rainy season, when no sufficient order or regularity could be established among them; and, being exposed to the weather, a great portion of them very soon perished. In the course of the first year their numbers were reduced nearly half: many died before they reached the coast, and a greater number in a short time after their landing: some few also had deserted. The remainder, however, was still sufficient for building a small town.

After the first year, no extraordinary mortality prevailed. In the two succeeding years, not more than five or six of the settlers died, out of two hundred who were in the same town. During that time they gradually improved in their circumstances;

world; and is of the more importance, as there is no other good harbour on the coast for many leagues either way.

"Sierra Leone is about 8 deg. 12 min. North latitude, and the longitude about 12 deg. West. It is generally about a month's sail from England, though more in returning, on account of the interruption of the trade winds."—*First Report*, 1791.

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and, though far from being regularly industrious, were able to supply themselves with a sufficiency of food, and to secure a small but constantly increasing property *.

They were, however, too poor and too ignorant to avail themselves of all the natural advantages of the country; and being chiefly men of unsettled habits, so many migrated to the neighbouring parts, that the community was at one time in the most imminent danger of extinction.

The arrival at this critical moment of a small brig, called the *Myro* †, laden with various articles of considerable present use to the necessities of the colonists, preserved the infant colony. The distressed wanderers found in its appearance on their coast a renovation of hope; and as they had learned, by dangerous experiment, that they could not subsist so well in any other place, the greater part of them returned to the settlement.

On this occasion also, a confirmation of the original grant of land was obtained from Naimbanna, the King of Sierra Leone, who resided at the small island of Robanna, between the English slave-factory at Bance Island and the French one at Gambia ‡.

* Report, 1791.

† The history of the *Myro* will be found in the account of Mr. Sharp's particular concern in the colony.

‡ The lands on which the English forts have hitherto been erected on the African coast, have generally been only rented of the Native Chiefs; whereas the new district of Sierra Leone has been actually purchased, and given up by the Native

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But toward the end of the year 1789, while the colony was again in a state of advance, the settlers received a formal notice from a great council of the neighbouring Chief, that he had resolved on burning their town, in retaliation for a similar injury done to his own capital by the marines and crew of an English ship of war*; and that he allowed them

Chiefs, under a ratified charter from themselves and their heirs for ever, to the Crown of England, for the use of the settlers and their successors for ever: so that it is not only an English settlement, but an English territory, where all the free customs and rights of the English common law immediately take place.—*Report*, 1791.

* "A Native Chief, living within half a mile of the English settlement, had lost, as he affirmed, two individuals of his town, by the depredations of an American Slave-captain, and had been some time waiting for an opportunity of retaliating on any vessel from the same country that might come within his reach. The opportunity, after a while, occurred. A boat, which was found to belong to an American ship, happening to pass up the river, was attacked and plundered by him and his people: the crew, consisting of three or four men, were put to death, one only excepted, who escaped, and conveyed the news to the neighbouring slave-factory, to which the boat had been going. The principal Agent of the factory, after some consultation with the officers of a man of war then lying in the river, determined on becoming the avenger of the outrage. Ineffectual attempts were first made to induce the Chief to come on board the frigate: and after an interval of two or three days, the Slave-factor himself, together with a lieutenant from the King's ship, and a body of British sailors and marines, set out on an expedition to the town of the Chief. On the approach of this armed body of men, the Chief and his people fled, and the town was plundered and set on fire. The Slave-factor,

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three days for the removal of their goods. They had no resource: they fled from their homes, and abandoned their plantations; and the judicial sentence was carried into execution at the appointed time.

This attack was an overwhelming blow to the colony, and threatened it once more with entire annihilation. But the same provident care which had sent the Myro to its aid in its utmost need, had also secured the means of affording it further protection, by the establishment of a Company in England (called the St. George's Bay Company), united for the purpose of carrying forward the benevolent design of the Founder: and a Memorial was now addressed to his Majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to grant to it his Royal Charter of Incorporation. The objects announced by the

however, and the party with him from the King's ship, returning in the dusk of the evening, were suddenly attacked by a discharge of musketry from among the bushes; and an engagement ensued, in which several men were killed on both sides. The Chief used afterwards frequently to vow that he must now retaliate again for the further loss of people that he had sustained. The Slave-factor, however, against whom his rage was principally directed, soon afterwards quitted the coast.

"A palaver, or council, was then called of all the surrounding Chiefs, who (according to the African custom of directing vengeance against every person, guilty or not guilty, whom they have in their power, and imagine in any degree connected with the authors of the injury received), having heard that two of the free settlers were among the hostile party, determined that their whole town should be burned."—*Report*, 1793.

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Company were, "to colonize a small part of the "coast of Africa, to introduce civilization among "the Natives, and to cultivate the soil by means of "free labour; at the same time abjuring all con- "cerns whatever in the odious traffic of human "bodies, and binding itself neither to deal in slaves, "nor to allow of any slave trade in the territory; to "maintain peace, unless attacked; to punish crimes; "to govern all equally according to the laws of "England; to open schools for reading, writing, "and accounts; and to receive and instruct the "children of the Natives, if sent to the schools."

For the prosecution of those views, during the expectation of the Charter, it was recommended that the Company should send out proper factors and agents to St. George's Bay, the principal harbour of the New Territory, in order to the carrying on a trade in British manufactures with the neighbouring Natives. Accordingly, in September 1790, the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, set sail, with a commission to examine and report the state of the colony, and to afford a temporary relief to the distress that had ensued, until the grant of the Charter should enable the Directors to take more effective and permanent measures for the prosperity of the settlement.

Mr. Falconbridge arrived about twelve months after the dispersion of the settlers; and collecting as many of the fugitives as he could any where discover, brought them to a new settlement above Fora Bay,

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about two miles farther than the former from the town of the chief who had invaded them; where they took possession of some deserted houses, and about four acres of land were cleared and planted with yams and casada, and sown with English seeds *. This little body of settlers was supplied by Mr. Falconbridge with muskets, ammunition, and articles of cutlery, which they might barter for necessaries; and he reported them, at his departure from the coast, as likely, with very little labour, to maintain themselves in the same manner as before their dispersion. They at that time amounted in all to sixty-four. The males, though disorderly and turbulent, appeared to be warmly attached to the Company, and resolutely bent on defending themselves. The new settlement received the name of *Granville* Town, in honour of their original protector and friend.

The affairs of the Company, therefore, now began to assume a promising aspect. Reports from various quarters confirmed the favourable accounts which had at first been given of Sierra Leone †;

* A reconciliation had been effected with the Native Chiefs, and the settlers had obtained leave to rebuild their houses (in another situation above Bance Island).—*Account of the Free Territory in Africa* 1791, *and Letter to Mr. Pitt, June* 10, 1790.

† "Mr. Falconbridge has collected several specimens of Native produce, particularly of woods, iron ore, gum copal, pepper, rice, cotton, and sugar-cane, which afford the most favourable hopes to the Company."

"All the most valuable productions of the tropical climates

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and the Charter of Incorporation being at length obtained *, a considerable capital was raised for carrying on the trade of the settlement. The Directors, persuaded that the effective utility, and even the security, of the establishment of which they had undertaken the care, would in a great measure depend on an increase in the number of settlers, prepared measures for that purpose; when an opportunity offered, which appeared to meet their wishes, of strengthening the colony by an additional body of free Negroes acquainted with the English language and accustomed to the labour of hot climates.

A Negro, of the name of Peters, arrived in England from Nova Scotia, as a delegate from many of his countrymen. These men, during the American war, had been induced to enlist in the British army by the King's proclamation of freedom to all Slaves

seem to grow spontaneously at Sierra Leone; and nothing but attention and cultivation appear wanting, in order to produce them of every kind and in sufficient quantities to become articles of trade, and even of great national concern."

"Besides the prospect of trading to Sierra Leone for the immediate productions of that country, it appears also, that a coast and river trade, and, through the rivers, an important inland trade, may easily be established by means of small vessels calculated for that purpose. The coast of Africa neighbouring to Sierra Leone is more intersected with rivers navigable for small craft than any other portion of it whatsoever."—*Report*, 1791.

* After various pressing applications to Government, the Charter was granted in 1791, and the "*Sierra Leone Company*" established at the end of the session of Parliament in which Mr. Wilberforce's first motion on the subject of the Slave Trade was lost.

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who should join the Royal standard; and when the war was terminated, they were carried to Nova Scotia, under a promise of regular allotments of land; which promise, unfortunately, had not been fulfilled: and the climate of Nova Scotia being unfavourable to them, they, to the number (as stated by Peters) of three or four hundred, were now desirous of joining the new colony at Sierra Leone.

The Directors immediately applied to Government, to know if it would defray the expenses of their passage; and being favourably answered, availed themselves of the offer of Lieutenant Clarkson, of his Majesty's navy *, to bring the new colonists over to Sierra Leone; strictly stipulating, however, the terms of their admission in conformity to the original design of the settlement, and allowing the reception of such only as could produce certificates of their good conduct and morals. Each settler was to receive a lot of land of twenty acres. Lieutenant Clarkson set sail on the 19th of August, 1791, and, on his arrival at Nova Scotia, found, to his surprise, that the number of Black People, who were desirous to embark for Sierra Leone, far exceeded the account given by their delegate: no less than eleven hundred and ninety-six were brought on board.

It was obvious that the accession of so large a

* A brother of the zealous Historian of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

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body of people could not fail to produce the most important consequences to the infant settlement. Their numerous wants would demand instant supply; and the Directors, therefore, turned their utmost attention to that point—bringing forward, also, a plan for the enlargement of the Company's capital at home, which was much increased by new subscriptions, after the intended junction of the Nova Scotia loyalists had been made public.

The first vessel sent out by the Company from England reached Sierra Leone in February 1792; and was soon followed by two others; carrying out, in all, rather more than one hundred Europeans: of whom above forty were the Company's servants or artificers, at a yearly salary; ten were settlers; sixteen were soldiers; and between thirty and forty were women and children.

In the succeeding month, the Nova-Scotia fleet arrived, consisting of sixteen vessels; from which were landed 1131 Blacks, many of them labouring under the effects of a fever, first contracted in Halifax, and of which sixty-five had died during the passage. Lieutenant Clarkson, whose humanity had led him to embark on board the hospital ship, had narrowly escaped with his life from a violent attack of the same disorder.

On his arrival at Sierra Leone, he found a commission appointing him Superintendant of the Colony —a situation which with some hesitation he accepted. His first care, after providing a temporary shelter for

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the new settlers, was to give security to the public exercise of religion; for which purpose having fitted up a house (of which the frame-work had been brought from England), a sermon was delivered on the first Sunday after his arrival, by a Clergyman appointed by the Directors *.

The site on which the first Blacks, sent out from England, had originally settled, and from which they had been afterwards expelled by the hostility of the neighbouring chief, was fixed upon as the most proper spot for the new settlement. The land (now overgrown again with underwood) was cleared in the course of a few weeks by the labour of the Nova-Scotians, whose progress was discernible along the shore, and in an open road which favoured their approach to the mountains.

King Naimbanna was next invited to visit the colony; and he came, attended by his vassal Jammy, the chief whose threats had preceded the expulsion of the settlers, and who now raised a question on their right to the land. A palaver was demanded, in which the cause was argued on both sides; but the original grant signed by Jammy himself, being produced by Lieutenant Clarkson, with the addition of presents of considerable value to the chiefs, the decision was in favour of the settlers.

The Nova-Scotians then proceeded to construct the requisite buildings, though with less speed than (considering the near approach of the rainy season)

* The Rev. Nathaniel Gilbert.

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might have been wished. The several streets having been marked out by the surveyor, they began, each one for himself, to erect small temporary huts, using the common materials of the country, except that the flooring was furnished, in some cases, from England. A public wharf and warehouse were likewise begun; and the rising town was named *Freetown*, in consequence of instructions from the Directors to that purpose.

In England, meanwhile, in order to assist the new settlers in providing against the distresses to which they might be exposed during the rains for want of sufficient shelter, another ship, the York, of 850 tons, was purchased and fitted out, and loaded, not only with various stores, but with frames of houses and all materials for building. It was intended, that, besides carrying out a large cargo, she should serve as a receptacle for those who were yet unprovided with houses, as well as an hospital for the sick; and should be afterwards converted to a storehouse for the Company.

This vessel was unfortunately driven back by a storm after leaving the English coast, and did not arrive at the colony till after great delays. She proved, however, of considerable use, both as a storehouse and a floating factory, as well as in facilitating the loading and unloading of other vessels; and she became for some time the residence of many of the Company's servants *.

* Reports, 1792 and 1794.

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CHAP. III.

THE precautions that had been taken, and the liberal supplies that had been sent out from England, proved alike ineffectual to prevent a considerable mortality among the new colonists when the rainy period arrived: they experienced from it the same distress which had been felt by the former settlers.

The rains began about the third week in May, preceded by tornados of dreadful violence. Many of the settlers' houses were not yet completed; the Company's storehouses were but imperfectly built; and their servants were ill accommodated. The soldiers also were liable, from various causes, to be much exposed; and the few European settlers, who had lately arrived from England, were least of all prepared to meet the impending difficulties. The high degree of health, which almost universally prevailed antecedently to the rains, by inspiring too great a confidence in the climate, had perhaps occasioned some remissness in making the requisite preparations. The building of a temporary town having necessarily engrossed the attention both of the Nova-Scotians and of the Company's servants, no lots of land had yet been marked out, nor had any step deserving of mention been taken with a

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view to commerce, although some goods for trade had been sent out by the very first ships. The necessary previous stores of fresh provisions were found to be wanting at the arrival of the rains; and the unsettled state of affairs tended to aggravate the distresses of the colony. The sickness which ensued was most severe. About eight hundred Blacks were supposed to be laid up at one time; and very few passed through the whole of this trying season without some indisposition. The disorder, which was the fever common to hot climates, while it affected the Blacks and Whites almost indiscriminately, proved far the most fatal to the Europeans, and especially to those residing on shore, among whom the mortality was at one time so great, as to excite reasonable apprehensions concerning the practicability of the whole undertaking.

In the height of the sickness, all the medical persons, with but one exception, were laid up; so that very few of the sick could be properly attended, and many perished for want of the timely aid which there were no means of affording. The storekeepers, inhabiting a damp storehouse, were some of the first victims: increasing difficulty and confusion in the delivery of the stores were the consequence. The doors of the storehouse were continually crowded; but neither food, nor physic and other necessaries for the sick (though these had been amply supplied by the Directors), could be properly distributed. A great depression of spirits at the same time generally

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prevailed, which produced a total helplessness in the case of one or two families from England, and proved one chief aggravation of the disorder.

Almost one half of the Europeans, who lived on shore, and nearly one-tenth of the Nova-Scotians, were carried off during this dreadful season.

The colony was just emerging from the confusion and distress into which it had been thrown, when a new event, of a perplexing kind, called for the attention of the Government. A ship arrived from the isle of Bulam, having on board a great number of passengers, many of them extremely sick, who desired to be received into the colony. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company had previously declined accepting the proposals of many persons in England to go out as colonists, who afterwards went to Bulam; the first success of the colony being thought to depend materially on the exclusion of all Europeans who were not in the regular pay of the Company, and entirely subject to them. It was feared that even a few men of an improper cast, in the situation of independent settlers, might materially prejudice the undertaking, by corrupting the morals of the colony, or exciting a spirit of discontent against the Government; and, if for either of these causes they should be excluded from the settlement, that they might then be driven to seek a livelihood by improper means among the neighbouring Natives—perhaps eventually turning slave-traders.

On these considerations it was deemed expedient

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to investigate very strictly the circumstances of all who went out from England; no one being permitted to join the colony who left his debts undischarged at home. In the present instance, the character of the Bulam adventurers was unknown; and their request therefore was not granted: those only who were sick were received on shore, where they were furnished with a few necessaries, and, after a time, accommodated with a vessel to carry them back to England *.

A few days, also, after the rains had ceased, the settlement was again disturbed by a demand from the Natives for a palaver, which was accordingly held the next day. At this meeting, King Jammy renewed his former pretensions respecting the purchase of the land; but was over-ruled by Naimbanna. He then disclosed his apprehensions, from the great progress of the settlers, that they meant to take possession of the whole neighbouring cape; and he proposed an exchange of a part of their possessions for other land lying more inward. He was fully answered by the Governor; and the palaver closed, as before, without laying any restraint on the settlers.

The rains had ceased about the 9th of October, and a second tornado season commenced, accompanied by incredible swarms of ants. The Nova-Scotians, notwithstanding, resumed their labours, and

* Report, 1794.

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towards the end of October two Meeting-houses were finished, and a School for the children of the settlement.

As soon as the general sickness began to abate, the chief object of the Government's attention was the distribution of the promised lots of land; a work more arduous than had been expected. It was found to be in the highest degree inexpedient to give at once to each individual his lot of twenty acres; as so large an allotment would necessarily throw many of the settlers to an inconvenient distance from the town and river; besides that the very labour of cutting the necessary paths, and of measuring so large a tract of country, would have been too great to have been easily accomplished in a single season.

The Nova-Scotians were so sensible of these objections, and so unwilling to be removed to a distance from the town (as well as to pay a quit-rent for a greater portion of land than they could use), that they preferred accepting smaller lots of four acres in the first instance, the right being reserved to them of claiming the remainder as it should be wanted *.

Of these smaller lots they showed the utmost eagerness to obtain possession, and no time was lost in commencing the location of them. Some spirited attempts were made even before the rains had

* This further claim was never made by any of the settlers, although the right was strictly preserved to them by the Company, and afterwards fully recognised by the Crown.

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entirely ceased, but were checked by repeated sickness: and so great was the labour of measuring out the ground, that although a large party of men was employed, and constant exertions were made, a considerable portion of the dry season was necessarily consumed before the survey of the lots could be completed. The distribution of them continued, at several periods, from November to March, and the whole of this first allotment was completed in time for the crop of 1793.

It was remarkable, however, that, having once got possession of their lots, very few of the settlers exerted themselves in cultivating them till compelled by actual necessity; the greater number preferring to live in the town as long as they could earn a subsistence there by labouring at daily wages for the Company.

Yet, notwithstanding all obstacles, as the dry season advanced, the colony displayed many symptoms of improvement. A garden of experiment was established, under the care of an eminent botanist (Dr. Afzelius); and two plantations likewise were begun, on the Company's account, as an example of cultivation to others,—one near Freetown, which was soon relinquished, and the other on the opposite side of the river,—both worked by free labourers.

In the mean time, several useful regulations had been made at home for the future government of the colony, and two gentlemen of considerable experience had been sent to Sierra Leone as Members of

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Council—the one accustomed to a new colony, and the other to tropical climates. Journals of all transactions, and minutes of council, began to be regularly kept, copies of which were sent to England from time to time: periodical reports were made by each principal servant of the Company of the state and progress of his own particular department; regular indents were sent home of all the European articles required for trade or colonial consumption; a more correct mode of correspondence was settled; and the original instructions of the Court were at length fully answered *.

Lieutenant Clarkson had quitted Sierra Leone at the end of 1792, after a residence in the colony of nearly ten months, when Mr. Dawes succeeded him as Governor.

* Report 1794.

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CHAP. IV.

About the same period, when the improvement just mentioned took place in respect to the intelligence sent to England, the internal order also of the colony was materially improved. More systematic measures were adopted for the maintenance of the police and the administration of justice. Pains were taken to arrange the Company's accounts; and greater regularity was introduced into the conduct of the different departments. The town having been laid out with great care, in a rectangular form, and spacious town lots having been assigned to each settler, their huts were replaced by larger and more commodious houses; the public works also gradually advanced; and the Natives, who continued perfectly friendly, and often flocked to the settlement, appeared to view the improving state of Sierra Leone with satisfaction *.

The site of Freetown was unquestionably the best that could be found in that vicinity, for the salubrity of its air, the goodness of the water, and the excellence of the harbour; which could hardly fail to make it the chief resort of commerce, *whenever the Slave Trade should cease.* Considerable labour and

* Report 1794.

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expense were bestowed in improving the landing-place; and a large number of the Nova-Scotia Blacks were also employed in erecting a church, hospital, warehouses, and dwelling-houses (of which the frames had been sent from England) for the Company's officers; and in the execution of some slight measures of defence with a view to the safety of the colony—among which, however, it was not yet thought necessary to include a regular fort.

During the course of the dry season, an expedition to some of the neighbouring parts was undertaken with success, the object being to conciliate the friendship of the Native Chiefs towards the colony; and all the information, which was thus obtained, concurred to demonstrate the practicability of introducing trade and civilization into Africa, if not obstructed by the influence of the Slave Trade. But there still existed much discontent among the Settlers. They continued averse to making the exertions necessary for bringing their lands into cultivation, and were ready to entertain every idle rumour to the prejudice of the Governor, who was naturally anxious for the commencement of their labours, and for the relief of the Company from the ruinous expense of maintaining them. War breaking out at the same time against France, and bringing with it very material impediments to the progress of the colony, their discontents grew to such a height, that it was at length deemed expedient to propose to them to send two delegates from their whole body to

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England, to represent their complaints. This proposal was accepted, and harmony was for a time restored.

Every thing now promised favourably. Trade was extending. Cultivation advanced, though slowly. The health of the colony greatly improved.

The rainy season of 1793 was attended with complaints of a less formidable description than had before been experienced. The Settlers seemed to be inured to the climate, and their children felt no bad effects from it. Just hopes were also entertained of improving morals. The schools which had been opened were very regularly attended by the children of the Settlers and Natives, to the number of three hundred.

Towards the close of the year, preparations were making for sending to England a cargo of African produce, which had been collected by the Company's vessels along the coast, and which was deposited, together with the merchandize intended for trade, on board the York store-ship. This vessel unfortunately caught fire. Alarm was instantly given, and every attempt was made to preserve the property, but in vain. Neither the Natives nor the Settlers could be induced to lend their assistance in extinguishing the flames, from an apprehension that there were large stores of gunpowder on board; and the vessel, together with all that was deposited in it, valued at 15,000*l.* was entirely consumed.

This calamity, severe as it was, did not damp the

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hopes or the efforts of the Directors; and they closed their Report of March 1794, by referring to the progress of cultivation in their colony, and the opening prospects of civilization; stating, that though their labour and anxiety had been great, yet these had been amply compensated by reflection on the magnitude of that cause in which they found themselves engaged, and by the continually increasing appearance, that they might be able, by the blessing of Providence, to lay some foundation for the future happiness of a continent which had hitherto experienced so much misery from its intercourse with Europeans.

Early in 1794, an expedition was made to the interior by two of the Company's servants, who travelled three hundred miles, as far as Teembo, the capital of the Foulah kingdom*. They were attended on their return by a deputation of Chiefs from the King of that country, for the purpose of opening a trading communication with the Company. Hopes were also entertained, that, as the breaking out of the war had caused an interruption of the demand for slaves on the coast, and several of the African Chiefs had thereby been induced to employ their unsold slaves in cultivating the soil, they might be led to enlarge their plans of cultivation.

* The town of Teembo has about eight thousand inhabitants, and another town near to it contains upwards of four thousand. The people of that part proved to be far more civilized than those on the coast.

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In the mean time, the two delegates, chosen by the body of Nova-Scotians to represent their complaints to the Directors, being arrived in England, presented a petition, couched in very strong terms; holding forth, as their principal grievances, the high price of goods at the Company's warehouses, the inadequacy of the wages paid to them for labour, the disappointment of some promises made to them by Lieutenant Clarkson, who had been Governor in 1792, and some trifling charges of misconduct on the part of the Governor (Mr. Dawes) who succeeded him.

The Directors, after the most minute attention to the subject, judged the representations of the petitioners to be wholly founded on mistake and misinformation. The Delegates at first received this decision with extreme dissatisfaction, but, having staid about two months longer in England, quitted it apparently well disposed to the Company.

Their return did not tend to promote the peace of the settlement, or to abate the turbulent and refractory spirit of a considerable portion of their countrymen. The jealousy and suspicion of the Company's European servants appeared to increase among the disaffected party, until at length an insurrection broke out, which menaced the life of the Governor and the safety of the colony, but which was happily suppressed without bloodshed. Six of the insurgents, who were considered as the ringleaders, were removed from the colony, and an

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amnesty granted to the rest. The effect of these examples was salutary. The commotion was succeeded by a season of quiet among the Settlers, and by a more ready submission on their part to the authority of the laws.

But the perils of the humane undertaking were not long suspended. An unexpected and far greater calamity than any that had preceded, threatened to destroy at once the prospects of philantrophy in Africa. As its history is that of an outrage almost without a parallel in the records of civilized ages, it will be here given with little abridgment from the original detail.

On the 27th September, 1794, late in the evening, the colony was alarmed by the firing of two heavy guns at sea, and, at day-break on the 28th, seven or eight sail were counted, with the English flag distinguishable in all of them. The fleet was soon found to consist of one two-decker, several large armed ships, and two armed brigs. It was agreed, that if they should prove enemies, resistance to such superior force would be an idle waste of lives, and might render the terms of capitulation less favourable. In about half an hour, some men in one of the frigates were seen pointing a gun on the Governor's house, and in a few minutes the shot began to fly over the town.

The colours were immmediately struck, and a flag of truce was held out; but the firing still continued,

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and a Black child was killed, and two Black settlers were severely wounded.

The ships, which proved to be French, were now hailed; and, being assured that the Colony had surrendered, desisted from firing. Soon after, the crew began to land, and a servant of the Company was sent to invite the commanding officer to the Governor's house. He found a number of French soldiers already in the great store and two other principal houses, which they were pillaging.

The French Commodore was too much occupied to attend to the invitation. But one Newell, an American slave-captain, who had before had a dispute with the Governor, and who had piloted the French vessels into the river, came, attended by half a dozen Frenchmen, and, almost foaming with rage, presented a pistol to him, and, with many oaths, demanded instant satisfaction. The Governor replied, that "since he was no longer master of his own actions, the slave captain must now take such satisfaction as he judged equitable." Newell then became so outrageous, that the Governor thought it prudent to request from the French officer a guard for his house, and a safe conduct on board the Commodore's ship; where, as soon as he met the commander, he expressed his surprise at the proceedings which had taken place,—observing, that he had hoped to find in Frenchmen a generous enemy, but that the colony had been dealt with in a manner which he believed unusual, except in places taken by storm.—

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"*Have you removed any property?*" was the answer. The Governor replied that he had not.—"*Be careful* of what you say to me; for if I should find after this that you have removed any thing, I shall make *you* suffer, and there shall not be a hut left in the place."—The Governor repeated his assurance, and the Commodore then gave him a promise that the pillage should be stopped; declaring, however, in the same breath, that, if the seamen and soldiers were disposed to plunder, he could not prevent them,—and adding, that "it was his intention to burn every house in the place belonging to Englishmen."

On hearing this, the Governor used every argument to dissuade him from his purpose, pleading the *nature of the establishment*, as likely to interest his feelings; but all appeals in behalf of the Colony proved ineffectual, the constant reply being, "*Citoyen, cela peut bien être, mais encore vous êtes Anglois!*" The case of the *Black settlers* was then represented, who, though not Englishmen, were sharing the fate of the English, their houses being all broken into. The Commodore made strong protestations of his friendly intentions towards the Negroes, and gave a solemn assurance that their houses should be saved from fire; but hinted, as before, the impossibility of restraining the soldiery. A demand for several articles was next urged by the Governor, on the ground of their being necessary to keep the people alive—such as apparel, provisions, medicines, &c. &c. —all which he was induced to hope at the time

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would be allowed. A proposal to ransom the place was made in vain.

The scene which Freetown now exhibited was, in every respect, distressing. All the houses were filled with Frenchmen, who destroyed whatever they found in them which they could not convert to their own use; while several other parties were scouring the town in quest of live stock, of which the destruction on this and the following day was extremely great. The books of the Company's library were scattered about and defaced; and, if they bore any resemblance to Bibles, they were torn in pieces and trampled upon. The dwelling-house of the botanist was pillaged, and his collections destroyed: in the accountant's office, all was demolished, in the search for money: the copying and printing-presses also were destroyed: all the telescopes, barometers and thermometers, and an electrical machine, were broken to pieces. A sentinel, who had been set to guard the Governor's apartments, served only to retard the pillage of it.

On the next day, a few clothes, books, and papers, saved from the general wreck, were, by the assistance of the Commodore, sent into the country; but the greater part of them was again taken away by gangs of pillagers, who beset every avenue to the town.

On the day when the French appeared, all the Company's servants had fled into the woods or to the neighbouring towns, except ten or twelve, who were collected in the Governor's house, where

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several French sailors now quartered themselves, and were tolerably civil. It became, however, every hour more and more unpleasant to remain in Freetown, as the soldiery were giving themselves up to every species of excess: the greater part, therefore, of those who were in the Governor's house, dispersed themselves, in the course of this and the succeeding day, either in the Native towns, or the farm-houses of the Settlers; a few took refuge in the Danish, or Deserter's, town upon the mountains *, where they were kindly treated. The Native children, placed at Freetown for education, were received, together with their school-mistress, in a town about two miles distant, the headmen of which very resolutely refused to permit a party of Frenchmen, who had straggled thither, to enter it. The Governor, being unwilling to absent himself while there was a prospect of effecting any thing in behalf of the people, applied for leave to remain on board the Commodore's vessel, where he was permitted to lie in the cabin, but without being able to obtain so much as a sheet to throw over him.

The French soldiers now made their way, in various directions, to the *farms* of the Settlers, which

* A town built at a few miles' distance from Freetown, by some slaves who, some years ago, cut off a Danish slave-vessel lying at anchor in the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, and escaped to the mountains. Their jealousy of strangers is in general so great, that they suffer none to approach.—*Report*, 1794.

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they plundered. The Governor, seeing one of them in the act of taking away from a Settler the bed on which he used to lie, attempted to dissuade him from it, and was threatened with being instantly cut down. Four officers, however, coming up, the man was ordered to be put in irons.

On the 2d of October, several of the principal buildings in Freetown, and one or two settlers' houses, were burnt, and also one of the Company's small vessels. The church was observed this day to have been pillaged, and the clock broken to pieces. The apothecary's shop and medicines were also destroyed. Information was at the same time received, that the slave-factory of Bance Island had been taken.

On the 3d of October, Mr. Afzelius, the botanist, made application to the Commodore for the recovery of his papers, and, after enduring much rudeness, at last obtained a part of them.

On the 4th, the Governor recapitulated the promises which had been held out, and earnestly pressed the fulfilment of them. He was answered by the Commodore in plain terms, that he should be in danger of losing his life if he were to comply with them. Such a representation of the distressed state of the Colony was then made, that a small portion of provisions was at last granted.

October 6th.—On this day, the conflagration of all the buildings, which had escaped the former fire, commenced. The church (although the Commodore

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had given his word that it should be saved), a range of shops, and three of the settler's houses near the water side, were destroyed, and also three small vessels, together with all the boats which could be found.—The French vessels, on their return from Bance Island, this day passed by Granville-town, and fired one shot into it; in consequence of which all the settlers living there fled into the woods; but there was no attempt to land.

7th and 8th October.—The Governor now fixed himself at Granville-town, from whence he occasionally visited Freetown, and renewed his applications to the Commodore for necessaries, obtaining on one of these days, a bag of biscuits and about twenty pounds of sugar. He attempted to procure the restitution of a schooner belonging to a Native trader, which had come down to Sierra Leone, but in vain; some letters found on board, addressed to the Governor, being thought a sufficient ground for her condemnation. He succeeded, however, in the recovery of a small vessel belonging to a Mulatto trader.

On the 9th of October, the Company's largest ship, the Harpy, arrived off Cape Sierra Leone from England, having several passengers on board, and goods to the amount of about 10,000*l.* The demolition of the Company's houses having been discovered, she put out again to sea, and appeared, for a time, to gain on the vessel which was sent in chase of her; but, the wind dying away, she was

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overtaken, and immediately struck. No part of the cargo of this ship was landed in the colony; nor would the Commodore suffer the dispatches, letters, and papers, brought by her, to be delivered, a few newspapers excepted. The English passengers, among whom was the Company's Chaplain, were plundered of their property; and three Natives, who had been on a voyage to England, were stripped even of the little presents which they were carrying back with them. A plant-hatch also, sent out by the Harpy, containing many valuable articles of tropical cultivation from his Majesty's collection at Kew, which were thought likely to thrive in Africa (and particularly the bread-fruit tree, and the tea plant), was destroyed, with all its contents, though the most earnest application was made for the delivery of it.

On the 11th, the Governor heard that it was the intention of the Commodore, who was supposed to be on the eve of sailing, to send on shore all the European sailors who had been found on board the captured ships, amounting in all to nearly one hundred and twenty; and as he was left wholly without means of providing for them, he made a very strong remonstrance on the subject. No answer was returned either on this or the succeeding day.

On the 13th, several French officers brought the Governor about two or three weeks' supply of provisions for the Europeans in the colony. The Governor repaired immediately to the Commodore's

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ship, in order to thank him for the gift, as well as to urge his compliance with several other demands. The Commodore paid no attention to his solicitation, but set sail on the same day to the southward, with all his fleet, to which the Harpy was now added *.

The succeeding distress, caused by this barbarous invasion †, is more easily to be conceived than described. In the space of three weeks, an almost universal sickness prevailed among the Europeans of the settlement; the consequence, in some cases, of the exertions made, and, in others, of the miseries endured, on the occasion. The difficulty of procuring medical aid (the physician and two surgeons being among the sick), together with the want of proper accommodation of every kind, grievously aggravated the disorder which prevailed, and which, as in the first rainy season, was fatal almost exclusively to the lower class of Europeans. The destruction of the medicines of the colony was now severely felt.

A few weeks after the departure of the French squadron, intelligence was received of its having captured two of the Company's small trading vessels, on their passage down the coast. The crews of these vessels were immediately put on shore, as well as other European sailors who had navigated some

* Report, 1795.

† The Report very liberally admits a doubt whether the attack on Sierra Leone was in any manner sanctioned by the *Government* then existing in France.

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slave-ships which had likewise been captured. As many of these as were able, made their way to Sierra Leone, and their numbers increased the general distress *.

* An extract found among Mr. Sharp's papers, from a letter from Mr. Afzelius to the Swedish Ambassador in London, gives a lively confirmation of the detail here related. It will be inserted in the Appendix.

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CHAP. V.

THE pecuniary loss sustained by the Company, from the unwarrantable act of depredation committed on the defenceless colony, was computed at 40,000 *l.*, exclusive of the buildings destroyed, which had cost about 15,000 *l.* more.

The misfortune was met with firmness by the Directors; and two small vessels were instantly dispatched to the succour of the settlement, carrying out an assortment of necessaries for its consumption. The event, disastrous as it was, had yet thrown some light of a cheering nature on the state of the colony. It had given reason to hope that the internal resources of the territory were of a substantial kind, as, during several weeks that the colony was destitute of every European article of support, no want had been felt of the primary necessaries of subsistence, nor were the settlers deterred from resuming the prosecution of their work.

But it began also now to be manifest, that without a stronger and more protecting European Government the salutary purposes of the establishment were not likely to be answered. The benevolent founder of the colony himself yielded to a conviction

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of the vain attempt of forbearance from the erection of forts, and other ordinary methods of security.

In the *internal order* also of the colony, some advantages had been gained by the afflictions which had befallen it. The Nova-Scotia Blacks, who had hitherto been turbulent in their general conduct, and in whose minds every restraint, which a regular police renders necessary, was connected with the state of slavery from which they had so lately escaped, now became more orderly and respectful toward the Government. The terror inspired by the invaders had shewn them their real interests. Some of them made voluntary offers of service for erecting proper works for future defence; while others, who had hitherto refused to occupy any lands but those immediately adjoining the coast, now willingly retired farther into the country, and undertook the cultivation of the numerous farm-lots which had lain wholly neglected. Many also placed themselves as apprentices under English masters and artificers; and several built boats for themselves, and began to barter the produce of their farms with the neighbouring chiefs of the country.

When they next proceeded, as usual, to their annual elections of officers among themselves, their elections were perceived to fall on men of the most exemplary and proper characters. On the whole, their minds seemed to be more favourably disposed; the state of morals began to improve; and their

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children, who were placed in the schools of the colony, advanced rapidly in their learning.

The greatest efforts, indeed, were made by the Directors for the improvement of the schools of the colony, as well as for the extension of Christian knowledge in Africa. Provision was made for the regular performance of the service of the Church, and additional teachers were sent out for the instruction of the youth of both sexes.

A term of four years, which succeeded the French invasion, may be considered as the most prosperous period of the colony, prior to its transfer to the Crown.

Early in the year 1795, a factory was successfully established on the Rio Pongas, about twelve miles from its mouth, adjoining to the Foulah country. Great opposition was experienced from the neighbouring slave-dealers; but the settlement was protected against them by the Native Chiefs, who appeared to approve of the views of the Company.

The favourable reception of the Company's servants in the capital of the Foulah kingdom, in the preceding year, encouraged a few English families, acquainted with agriculture and with European arts, and zealous for the propagation of Christianity, to attempt the establishment of a Mission in that quarter; and their enterprize being conceived likely to be productive of general advantage to the colony,

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a free passage was granted to the adventurers in one of the Company's ships*.

The rains of this year were less heavy than in the former years, and the colony was comparatively healthy.

In the spring of the year 1796, Mr. Macaulay, who had assisted in the administration of the colony since the end of 1792, and for a part of that time had acted as Governor, returned to Sierra Leone after a short absence in England, accompanied by several new officers in the Company's service; and, on the resignation of Mr. Dawes, succeeded to the chief command.

The settlement now exhibited appearances highly gratifying to the hearts of good men interested in the welfare of their fellow-creatures †. But the calm, which the remembrance of danger had produced, was not of long duration. He who desires

* The Missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, but were deterred from proceeding by a nearer view of the difficulties which were to be surmounted.

† The actual state of the settlement at this time may be distinctly seen in the Reports of the Directors. "Freetown and Granville-town are divided into tithings, or districts of ten families; and the heads of each choose annually a tithingman, and for each ten tithingmen a hundreder. The persons so chosen are sworn to assist in keeping the peace; the tithingmen act as constables, and the hundreders as head-constables. All regulations adopted by the Governor and Council are laid before the hundreders and tithingmen; and, on their acquiescence, are declared to have the force of law." "Several

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wholly to abjure the maxim of the French philosopher, "*Qui fait un bienfait, fait un ingrat,*" must not read the history of the newly protected Settlers at Sierra Leone.

Notwithstanding the general appearance of ameliorated conduct in the Nova-Scotians, discontents, greater or less according to circumstances, had never wholly ceased among an idle and worthless portion of that body of men. A considerable number of them objected to the payment of any quit-rent for their lands, as stipulated in their respective grants, and, for the redress of this supposed grievance, seemed inclined to proceed to acts of violence; but the mischief of their designs was prevented by the timely exertions of the Governor. The refractory Settlers, nevertheless, resolved on rejecting the grants, which required a quit-rent, and on holding

servants of the Company act as justices; and a court of session is held every three months, at which offences and suits for debt are tried by a jury, before two or three justices."

"Two marshalls are appointed—one for Granville-town, the other for Freetown—who summon juries, execute warrants against offenders and writs for debt, levy fines, and execute the sentences of the court. The hundreders and tithingmen are bound to assist them, if required.

"Laws respecting adultery and slander, and for fixing the price of meat and bread, have been enacted; but, in general, the principles of the English law have been found sufficient—though the punishments in criminal cases have been less severe, consisting of corporal chastisement, fines, imprisonment, hard labour, and banishment."

"Buying or selling slaves is considered as a crime, and always punished, when proved."—*Report*, 1796.

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the lands which they occupied, without the formality of a title-deed.

The administration of the colony, in spite of these unpleasant disputes, proceeded with tolerable regularity, and the improvement of the settlement continued to be progressive. In 1798, Freetown contained about three hundred houses, laid out with great regularity, besides many public buildings. Three wharfs had been erected. The Government-house was completed, on an eminence that commanded the town and the harbour, and was protected by a palisade and six pieces of cannon. The inhabitants of the colony were about twelve hundred, the heads of families being about three hundred. Of these, about one half were supported by their farms; many were mechanics; and the rest followed various occupations of retail shopkeepers, fishermen, seamen, &c. &c.

The town was also become a place of considerable resort for the neighbouring Natives, of whom from one to two hundred daily visited the Settlers, for the sake of exchanging African produce for British manufactures. Some came in canoes from a distance of eighty or a hundred miles.

Mr. Macaulay, on finally quitting the colony in March 1799, brought with him twenty-one African boys, and four girls, selected from the schools at Sierra Leone, for further education in England. Many of the boys were sons of the Native Chiefs, whom it might be desirable, after their education in

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this country, to place in such situations as would afford the best means of promoting the great ends of the settlement. In consequence of these children being brought to England was formed *the Society for the Education of Africans* *.

Mr. Ludlam, who succeeded as Governor, soon found that he was called to a situation of the most difficult kind. Some individuals among the hundredors and tithingmen had ventured, on several occasions, to assert a right of legislating for the colony on an equal footing with the Governor, (who, they contended, being but an individual, ought to have only an individual suffrage), and even to deny that they owed any subjection to the laws of England, or to any laws unless of their own making; insisting likewise on the right of being judged by judges appointed exclusively by themselves. The spirit of insubordination increased during the course of the year 1799; and the disaffected hundredors and tithingmen, discovering that the Company was not invested with adequate legal powers to enforce its authority, were at length emboldened to assert a right to the entire sovereignty of the colony, and to the disposal of the Company's lands; as well as a right either to expel all Europeans from the territory, or to demand a payment for their residence in it; to shut up the court in which justice had been administered, and to prevent its administration in future by any but men nominated by themselves.

* Report, 1801.

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The Company now felt, more strongly than ever, the want of an efficient force in the government. They plainly saw, that the unwarranted pretensions of the settlers, their misguided views, their ignorance of the most important principles of justice, the crude notions which they had formed of their own rights, their excessive jealousy of Europeans, their growing disregard of moral obligations, and the impetuosity of their tempers, would, if longer unrestrained, produce the most ruinous effects. The whole prospect of permanent benefit to Africa, from the increasing knowledge and improving morals of the rising generation, seemed entirely to depend on the establishment of a firm and regular government, and the impartial and uninterrupted administration of justice.

Influenced by these motives, the Directors made application to his Majesty for a new Charter, which should convey to the Company a clear and well-grounded authority to maintain the peace of the Colony, and to execute the laws. This application was made in 1799; and in 1800 a Charter was granted, which created the settlement an independent colony, and authorised the Directors to make laws not repugnant to those in England, and to appoint a Governor and Council, with a similar power to make laws, but subject to the revision of the Court of Directors. It also placed the criminal jurisdiction in the hands of the Governor and Council; but appointed a Mayor's

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Court for the determination of civil suits, and a Court of Requests for the recovery of small debts. It gave, both in civil and criminal cases, the right of trial by jury.

An authenticated copy of this Charter was soon transmitted to Sierra Leone by one of his Majesty's ships. Directions were also sent for detaching a small force of fifty men from the corps which had been ordered to garrison the fort of Goree, and for stationing them at Sierra Leone. The Governor of Goree was also ordered to assist the colony to the utmost of his power in any exigency.

While the Directors were taking effectual measures at home for strengthening the government of the Colony, its internal affairs were daily assuming a more alarming aspect. Many circumstances conduced to shew, that the disaffected Nova-Scotians had laid a design for the complete overthrow of the Company's authority; but, willing to try their strength before they proceeded to the execution of their scheme, they contented themselves, for a time, with exciting unreasonable and vexatious claims among the Natives, with a view to harass the Government, and to deprive it of the friendship of the neighbouring people.

The objects which they still held forth as their right, were the framing of laws and the appointment of judges; and, finding the Governor and Council firm in their refusal to concede such a right, they proceeded to form a numerous association for the

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support of their pretensions. In one of their meetings, it was proposed to put all the Europeans into an open boat, without sails, or even a compass, and to turn them adrift. The associators increased gradually in numbers, through the great exertions of the disaffected hundreders and tithingmen; and, at the moment when their rebellion actually burst forth, (which was in September, 1800), nearly half the heads of families in the colony had joined them.

The Governor and Council, in the mean time, though under no doubt of the dangerous designs which were forming, were careful to avoid the necessity of having recourse to violence, being fully aware of their inadequate means of coercion, and hoping that they might be able, by forbearance, to ward off an open rupture, until the arrival of the Charter, and of the military force which had been ordered to protect them.

But, as it was well known among the malecontents that both these instruments of security were expected, it became equally their interest to hasten the execution of their project; and, conceiving their strength to be now adequate to the attempt, they, on the 10th September, 1800, published a handbill, giving notice, "That the new constitution of Sierra Leone was to have effect from the 25th instant; and that thenceforward all applications for justice were to be made to three of the hundreders, whose names were stated." Accordingly, on the 25th a paper was stuck up in the most public part of Freetown,

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professing to be *the law* whereby Sierra Leone was thenceforth to be governed, as approved of by the hundreders and tithingmen.

The Governor and Council now perceived with sorrow, that the crisis which they had wished to avoid was arrived; and having ascertained the general disposition of the remaining Settlers who were well affected to them, and being assured of their support, they determined on taking the most vigorous measures for the restoration of order. Warrants were issued for apprehending the hundreders whose names were signed to the proclamation, and, after a violent conflict,—in which, however, no lives were lost,—two of them were taken into custody.

The next morning, intelligence was received that fifty of the insurgents, having chosen a leader, had taken post at the nearest bridge on the road to Granville-town, and had cut off the communication between Freetown and the country on that side. To this number they were likely to receive a daily addition; while the number of loyal settlers, who chose to arm in defence of themselves and the Government, amounted only to thirty, besides about twelve Europeans, and between forty and fifty Natives from that part of the coast to leeward of Sierra Leone, called the *Crou* coast, who were employed at the time in navigating the Company's vessels, and who seemed disposed cordially to unite in supporting their employers.

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The 27th, 28th, and 29th of September were consumed by the Governor in unavailing endeavours, by suitable notices, to reclaim the body of insurgents. They treated every offer of accommodation with insolence; and they even threatened to attack the palisade defending the Government-house, and to give no quarter. The Governor conducted himself throughout the whole of this emergency with great presence of mind, firmness, and moderation. He would not have thought it prudent to risk an attack in the first instance, as a defeat would probably have ended in the destruction of his whole party, had he not received information that a considerable body of the neighbouring Natives, allured by the hopes of a valuable booty, were collecting with a design to join the insurgents: as these were already more numerous than the loyal settlers, such an accession of force would have rendered the contest of a still more arduous nature, as well as more dubious in its issue; and therefore, finding, on the 30th, that his adherents were eager to engage, he resolved on making an attack on the following day.

At this critical moment, a most providential occurrence suspended his operations, and completely changed the face of affairs. A large ship appeared in the river, which proved to be the Asia transport, having on board about five hundred and fifty Maroons (including women and children), from Nova Scotia, together with a detachment of forty-five soldiers, under the command of Lieutenants

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Smith and Tolley, of his Majesty's twenty-fourth regiment*.

* The Maroons were descended from some Africans, of the Coromantine nation, who were carried off as slaves to Jamaica, and, having fled from their masters, lived in the mountainous, parts of that island. A part of them, having risen in arms against the Colonists, carried on for some time a destructive warfare; but, having been induced by the terror of blood-hounds to surrender, were removed to Nova Scotia: but their reiterated complaints of the coldness of the climate, and the heavy expenses of maintaining them there, at length determined our Government to convey them thence to some more genial climate.

Africa having been deemed the place to which they might most conveniently be sent, application was made to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company on the subject. The Directors were not desirous of receiving them at Sierra Leone, but expressed their readiness to render every assistance in effecting their settlement in any other part of Africa, and in afterwards instructing them, provided the British Government would leave to the Directors the appointment of the persons set over them, and defray every part of the expense.

These conditions being agreed to, measures were taken for removing the Maroons from Nova Scotia to the African coast; and they arrived in the river Sierra Leone, as has been already mentioned, at the end of September, 1800.

The Directors had previously sent Mr. George Ross, one of their servants, who had been several years at Sierra Leone, to Nova Scotia, as their agent, in order to explain to the Maroons the terms on which they were to be received in Africa, to witness their acceptance of them antecedently to their embarkation, as well as to prepare them for the circumstances in which they would find themselves placed on arriving in Africa; to acquire also a knowledge of their capacities, disposition, manners, and customs; and to accompany them to Sierra Leone river.—*Report*, 1801.

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On the next day (October 1) Lieutenant Smith came to make a tender of assistance to the Governor and Council, assuring them of his zealous co-operation in reducing the insurgents to obedience. The Maroons, also, made a cheerful offer of their services. In the hope of preventing the effusion of blood, and of bringing back the deluded Settlers to a sense of their duty, offers of accommodation were now again made to them, which they treated with contempt, obstinately maintaining their hostile position. It was still necessary, therefore, to proceed to active measures; and, on the 2d of October, a party of Maroons, headed by Lieutenant Sheriff, of the royal navy, attacked the insurgents, and routed them at the first onset. Of the Maroons, none were either killed or wounded; but two of the insurgents were left dead on the spot, and several were wounded. From this time, resistance was at an end; and the majority either delivered themselves up, or were taken by the parties which went in quest of them. About thirty-five were brought in prisoners; and from these, three, who had been previously guilty of various felonies in the colony, and among whom was the leader of the insurrection, were selected for capital trial at the first court of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery, held under the new Charter. They were convicted of the felonies laid to their charge, and suffered death in consequence. The remainder gladly submitted to the terms offered by the Governor; which were, that they should leave the

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colony, and never return to it without permission. Seven, who had taken a principal part in exciting the disturbance, were sent to Goree, and twenty-five were transported to the Bulam shore, where they were directed to form a settlement, and to cultivate the lands for their subsistence *. After a few years of probation, they were permitted to return to the colony.

* Report, 1801.

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CHAP. VI.

On the admission of the Maroons, whose arrival had thus preserved the peace of the Colony, the Governor and Council hoped to procure for them the island of Bananas, about thirty miles to the south of Freetown; but in this hope they were disappointed, through an alarm raised in the minds of the Natives by the Slave-traders. They then turned their thoughts to the Bulam shore (which forms the north bank of the river Sierra Leone), where a purchase of land had been made a long time before. But, as the Natives had there also been led to entertain great fears of the Maroons, it was doubtful whether the settlement would be effected without opposition.

The favourable testimonies, therefore, of the officers who conducted them to Sierra Leone, their own anxious desire to be placed under the immediate protection of the Company, and the actual service which they had rendered it, disposed the Governor and Council to grant them lands on the same side of the river with the Company's settlement, where, under the immediate eye of the Government, they would not only be less liable to an attack from the Natives, but more likely to

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improve in habits of subordination and civilized life*.

Town lots were accordingly marked out for them in Granville-town, November 1800, and farms allotted to them near that place.

After the disappointments already experienced in the instance of the Nova-Scotia Settlers, the Directors were not disposed to form any sanguine hopes respecting the Maroons. Their conduct, however, proved to be regular and satisfactory. They built a neat town for themselves, and began to cultivate their farms with spirit.

About this time, the liberality of the British Government was again excited toward the struggling Colony, by a memorial on the part of the Company; and a parliamentary grant of 4000*l.* was obtained for the support of its civil establishment,—which grant there was reason to hope would be annual. Provision was made for defraying the expense of settling the Maroons in its territory. A sum of 10,000*l.* was granted to indemnify the Company for a part of its heavy expenditure in the first settling of the Nova-Scotians; and a further sum of 7000*l.* was voted toward building a fort †.

This timely relief was of essential importance. Besides the destruction of property caused by the French squadron in 1794, the Colony had suffered the loss of several richly-laden vessels at sea during

* Report, 1801. † Ibid.

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the last three years of war. The progress of cultivation had also been checked, in consequence of the recal of the native labourers by their chiefs *: and the advance of the schools was retarded by the want of sufficient teachers. But, as soon as the favourable disposition of the British Government was made known in the Colony, a new spring was given to industry and hope †.

The Governor and Council were anxious to employ the new authority, with which they had been invested by the Charter, in introducing a firmer system of order; and they were beginning to witness its happy effects, when a sudden blow was again aimed at the very existence of the settlement, by some neighbouring native chiefs, who had not previously alleged any cause of complaint. On the 18th of November, 1801, about day-break, a body of Natives, headed by two of the late Nova-Scotia insurgents who had effected their escape, made an assault on the palisades of the Governor's house.

* In the year 1798, three or four hundred native labourers, called Grumettas, worked in the settlement, chiefly on the farms, which were increasing rapidly; some in the service of the Europeans, and some in that of the Nova-Scotians. These native labourers were freemen, who came from neighbouring parts, and received monthly wages, the whole of which was their own.—*Report*, 1804.

† Nearly at this time a newspaper was begun to be published once every fortnight; and proposals were sent to England for furnishing it to subscribers at seven shillings per annum.—*Report*, 1801.

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After some loss on both sides, the assailants were repulsed, and were pursued till they had withdrawn from the situation they had before occupied in the neighbourhood of the Colony. In March 1802, a truce was concluded with them; and, some additional troops having arrived from Goree, the peace of the Colony was restored.

But it was conceived, that the chiefs, who had made this unforeseen attack, were still busy in exciting among their countrymen an apprehension of the growing power of the Sierra Leone settlement; and the Directors were induced again to have recourse to Parliament for the means of greater exertions. In May 1802, they petitioned for an enlargement of the pecuniary grant of 4000*l.* which had been paid to them for the two preceding years. On this occasion they delivered a statement in detail respecting the Colony; in which they shewed, as well the difficulties that had been experienced, as the progress that had been made. After considering its actual state and prospects, under the heads of trade, cultivation, and civilization, they next set forth the advantages, in a national and political view, of maintaining the settlement by adequate provision for its support*: and having shewn that there was reason

* The nation which possesses Sierra Leone, may command, in a considerable degree, the trade of a large part of Africa, and will enjoy a paramount influence throughout the whole line of coast from Gambia to Cape Palmas. No other situation on the whole coast, from the Mediterranean to the Equator (not

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to hope for great and extensive benefit from a firm maintenance of the Colony, they threw themselves on the protection of the British Government, submitting to it the question, "Whether the work, which they had begun, might be considered as a ground on which the Parliament of Great Britain ought to proceed;" and adding this remarkable and decisive declaration—that "unless the Colony was likely to be rendered permanently safe, the Directors were of opinion that it ought to be relinquished *."

A Committee of the House of Commons being appointed to investigate the merits of the petition, and having returned a favourable report of the prospects of the settlement, a sum of 10,000*l.* was, on the 11th of June 1802, granted for that year.

On this encouragement, the Governor and Council were instructed to pursue the most effectual means of giving security to the Colony, by erecting works of defence, as well as to renew their efforts for civilization and agriculture.

In the mean time, notwithstanding the truce which had been concluded with the Native Chiefs in March 1802, the Colony was attacked, in the following month, with a force amounting to more than four

less than three thousand miles), possesses the same advantages. Should the colony be abandoned, there will be no British station between Gibraltar and the Gold Coast, and no convenient and safe harbour between the same place and the Cape of Good Hope."—*Report*, 1804.

* Ibid.

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hundred men, among whom eleven of the rebel settlers, who had before been banished from the settlement, were again engaged. The attack was sudden and vigorous; but the assailants were fortunately again repulsed with great loss. The spirits of the Settlers, however, in consequence of this second attack, were so greatly damped, that they abandoned their farms, and the idea of evacuating the colony became general.

Soon after this period, an officer arrived, who had been sent over by Government to examine and report the state of the settlement; and his report was such as to induce the Minister (Mr. Addington) to suspend the grant, which the Directors had conceived to be annual, until another parliamentary inquiry should take place. This inquiry was not instituted till toward the end of 1803; and the report was made in 1804.

Previously to the inquiry, the Directors had strongly urged to his Majesty's Ministers the expediency of transferring the civil and military power of the Company to the British Government, leaving to the Company the care of the commerce, cultivation, and civilization of the Colony. The only condition they required was, that security should be given on the part of the Government against any admission of the Slave Trade or Slavery within the colony. The communications on this subject continued during the succeeding year, but led to no conclusion; and in the mean time the Directors

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were perplexed as to the line of conduct which they ought to pursue, while (from the suspension of the expected grant from Parliament) the affairs of the Colony became every day more embarrassed, on account of the insufficiency of the Company's funds to defray the necessary expenses of the establishment.

Urged therefore by the view of the approaching distress of the Colony, as well as the peculiar title to protection which both the Maroons and Nova-Scotians possessed, (all of whom had been induced to come to Sierra Leone in the firmest confidence of support from the British Government,) the Directors, in the year 1803, drew up a very spirited representation on the subject, which was likewise laid before the Committee of the House of Commons*. Notwithstanding the heavy discouragements which had attended the first efforts to establish

* The statement of the Directors gave a very satisfactory account of what had been effected to answer the purposes of the last parliamentary grant, Captain Day, an officer of his Majesty's Navy, had gone out as Governor, and, by the vigorous measures which he had taken for rendering the Colony secure against any future attack from the Natives, had restored confidence both to the Settlers and to the Chiefs who had been friendly to it; and had induced the greater part of those who had entered into a confederacy against it, to sue for peace. The spirits of the Colonists were of course revived, the Native free labourers returned to their employ on the farms, and cultivation was successfully resumed.

An accession of territory having been gained by the Company during the late hostilities, in that part of the peninsula which lies between Freetown and Sierra Leone, lands were allotted in

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a settlement of Free Negroes on the coast, too many circumstances presented themselves of a different cast, to suffer the hopes of such an establishment to be wholly relinquished by the British Nation. The centric situation of Sierra Leone, its safe and commodious harbour, the valuable productions of the surrounding country, rendered it highly important to Great Britain; especially in the view of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, in which case the germ of civilization, planted there, would prove invaluable. But, independently of these powerful reasons, the obligation, incurred by the Government, of supporting the numerous Settlers who had relied on its promises for protection, and who must otherwise be left to unavoidable destruction, formed a moral necessity, which precluded any possibility of withdrawing wholly from their support, at least while a further effort might be made in their favour. The result of the investigation by the Committee was a

that district to the Maroons, who are stated to have proved a valuable acquisition to the Colony, by their submission to the laws and general good conduct.

Captain Day returned to England, on the declaration of war against France; and Mr. Ludlam resumed the government of the Colony.

The Committee, of which the present Marquis of Lansdowne was chairman, entered into a very minute and laborious investigation of the state and prospects of the Colony. Among others, Captain Hallowell, whose unfavourable report had induced Mr. Addington to suspend the grant, was examined at great length.—*Report*, 1804.

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recommendation to support the undertaking. A sum, adequate in all points to the wants of the set-settlement, was, in consequence, granted by Parliament, for its effectual defence and maintenance; and its security was thus once more confirmed.

In the Report of the Committee, it was, however, observed, that, from a full consideration of the many difficulties which still continued to embarrass the Company, as well as from the interest which the British Government must continue to take in the settlement at Sierra Leone *, it was their opinion, that the great object for which the Colony had been undertaken might be more readily and effectually obtained, by a transfer of the civil and military authority of the settlement to the Crown; with which view, it would be expedient to invite the proprietors to make a surrender of their rights to his Majesty. This proposal met, of course, with the full approbation of the Directors; and, having been afterwards submitted to the consideration of a General Court of Proprietors, was approved of by them also. It was reconsidered in another General Court, which met on the 7th January 1807, and which had been specially summoned for the purpose of examining "the statements of the expenditure from the origin of the Company, and the present actual value of

* The Report is, in this respect, highly honourable to our Government, as *never hesitating* on the necessity of supporting, at whatever expense, those (the Nova-Scotians and Maroons) for whom it had once pledged itself to provide.

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their possessions; of inspecting all their papers and documents; and of instituting an inquiry, from these premises, whether it were possible, that, by further subscription, any advantages might result to the Company from their continuing to cultivate their lands, or establishing an open trade with the Colony; and, finally, whether by such, or any other means in their hands, those advantages might be attained of cultivation, commerce, and civilization, for which the Company was at first formed:" when, the resolutions of the previous meeting having been confirmed, a Bill was brought into Parliament for surrendering the Colony to his Majesty; and it obtained the Royal Assent on the 8th of August *. The Act strictly forbad the traffic in slaves within the colony †, and continued to the Colonists the full enjoyment of all civil rights which they had possessed under the authority of the Company.

In the course of the year 1807, peace had been fully established by a treaty with the Native Chiefs;

* It was entitled, "An Act for transferring to his Majesty certain Possessions and Rights vested in the Sierra Leone Company, and for shortening the Duration of the said Company, and for preventing any Dealing or Trafficking in the Buying or Selling of Slaves within the Colony of Sierra Leone." (8th August, 1807.) Anno quadragesimo-septimo Georgii III. Regis. sess. 11.

† When the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade was passed in England, a Court of Vice-Admiralty was established at Sierra Leone, for the purpose of giving full effect to its provisions in the colony.

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and, on the 1st January 1808, the possession of the settlement was surrendered to the Crown by Governor Ludlam, and the Company withdrew from its arduous enterprise,—bearing with it the grateful consciousness, that it had humanely and vigorously seconded the meritorious efforts of the founder, and had rescued from imminent danger the progress of those hopes and those plans of beneficence, with which the Colony had first been formed; that its enlarged means and more powerful labours had opened the paths of social improvement to a degraded continent, for the diffusion of the arts of civilized life, and of the benign precepts of Christianity; that it had freely imparted the benefits flowing from those sources, as far as the difficulties, with which it had to struggle, would permit; that, by the education of numerous African youths, it had tended to raise the minds of future chiefs of that country to the contemplation of just and important national objects, and had rescued their native character and talents from the base aspersions of European avarice; that, by exposing the real nature of the Slave Trade, and the artifices by which those miscreants, who engaged in it, were so long able to delude a hesitating Legislature, it had contributed most materially to the abolition of a traffic, which insulted the bounty of the Creator and inflicted unspeakable evils on our fellow-creatures;—that it had displayed the superior advantages of English law and English justice on a shore where England

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had once been only known for crimes, and named for execration; that, in fine, it had succeeded in establishing a point of civilization for Africa, on a central part of the coast, now provided with adequate means of subsistence and defence, which, under the blessing of Providence, might in time become the emporium of commerce with Europe, and maintain between the two continents all the friendly relations of peace, science, justice, and religious truth*.

* It is worthy of further remark, that, at the time of the surrender of the territory to Government, the Colony (as appears from the last Report of the Directors, in 1808) "had attained to a situation of comparative strength and prosperity. The fortifications had been so far advanced, as to communicate to it a sense of complete security. Its internal order had gone on improving; the confidence of the Natives had been restored; and the number of Native children, sent to Sierra Leone for education, continued to increase. The Colonists were building good houses, and shewed other marks of growing prosperity. Cultivation was reviving. The Colony had also improved in healthiness. During the first half of the last year, the proportion of births to deaths was as twenty-three to fourteen. None of the troops had died in that time, and, of the Company's servants, only one had died since the 1st January, 1806." (p. 11.)

In the year 1807, the population amounted to 1871 persons. The security, and consequent respect, of the Colony had become so great, that the Governor was at one time employed in mediating between two of the neighbouring chiefs who had been at war for seven years; and the mediation was successful in putting a period to the contest.

How amply the hopes arising from those favourable appearances have been since confirmed, will be seen from the following testimonies in the Report of THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION for the year 1818.—

"The slave-ships appear to lose no opportunity of attacking

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and destroying the legitimate commerce of the Windward Coast, particularly that of Sierra Leone, which enjoys the proud pre-eminence of being the object of their implacable hostility."

"The accounts received from time to time, of the progress of improvement at Sierra Leone, continue highly favourable. Letters, dated the 21st January last, state, that every thing at that time was going on well; that trade was brisk in the colony; and that there was *no war* in the country around it."

"On the 31st March, 1817, the total number of scholars, male and female, educated in the different schools at Sierra Leone, amounted to 1,422, (being an increase of 185 in the preceding six months). The schools were remarkably well attended by the pupils generally, who appeared eager to reap the benefits of the instruction afforded them; and their improvement is stated to have been considerable.

"A very large proportion, probably five-sixths, of the individuals who are thus represented as enjoying the benefits of Christian instruction, are *liberated captives*, who have only recently been rescued from the holds of the slave-ships. They have been collected from various points on the extended line of the African coast to this spot, where, under the protection of British law, and in the enjoyment of British liberty, they are acquiring also the advantages of British knowledge and the higher blessings of religious light."

"Of the whole population of the colony, a very large proportion consists of liberated captives, distributed in various villages, pursuing the occupations of peaceful industry on farms of their own, gradually laying aside their native superstitions, and eager to avail themselves of all the means of instruction within their reach."

Extract from a Letter from his Excellency the Governor of Sierra Leone, addressed to the Secretary of the African Institution, dated Government House, 6th March, 1818.

"I shall avail myself of an early opportunity to forward the returns of the schools. The number of scholars of both sexes in the country towns has increased; and the grand total of men, women, boys, and girls, now attending schools on the peninsula,

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does not fall short of two thousand. The inhabitants of the colony have so very frequently experienced the interest the friends of Africa take in their prosperity, that I feel it a most pleasing part of my duty to be enabled to prove, by incontrovertible documents, the very great improvements in the commercial importance of this colony. The enclosed returns prove, that during the year 1817 the amount of merchandize imported into the colony exceeds that of the year 1816 by 39,286*l.*; and the number of vessels fourteen. I doubt not but you will observe with pleasure, that this increase is on the British goods. The prospect of our exports for the present year is highly flattering. The wood for ship-building having been so successfully tried in the Royal dock-yard, one vessel has already sailed (in January), the Pyrennees: the brig Mary sails this day with the same: the Magdalene is loaded in the harbour, on the point of sailing: the ship Preston is loading near Bance island. Several vessels are expected. The rice harvest has been abundant: preparations are making for cleaning that article, so as to render it fit for the West-India market; and if the experiment of rice mills, which I understand are now making in England, should succeed, I have no doubt but from the neighbourhood of this very colony, so frequently traduced, a great proportion, if not the whole, of our West-India islands could be supplied with food, procured by British merchants, and with goods the produce of the mother country or of her East-India empire; and the adjoining rivers would thus be amply repaid for giving up the Slave Trade."

[For the further progress of the Colony, see "*Additional Notes.*"]

In addition to the above statements, it may be observed, that the instruction given in the schools is *in the English tongue;* a circumstance of which future ages will appreciate the value.

It is scarcely to be doubted, that the perseverance of our Nation will finally effect the establishment of civil relations with Africa; and the hand of gratitude or vengeance will, one day, be stretched out from that continent towards the other quarters of the globe.

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CHAP. VII.

After the general history of the settlement at Sierra Leone, let us return to the narrative of Mr. Sharp's part in the transactions of the colony; a part no less arduous, and pursued with no less perseverance and philanthropy, than when he first raised from the dust the degraded image of his Creator, and sturdily rescued him from the shackles of avaricious tyranny and prejudice.

The obstacles which opposed the larger plans of the chartered *Company* in this singular settlement, have been seen to be the want of sufficient power in the hands of its Government, and the inadequacy of its force to restrain the aggressions of the neighbouring Natives; the narrow scale of the establishment; the unfavourable character of the Nova-Scotia Blacks who joined the first Settlers; the war with France; and, lastly, the unabated process of the Slave Trade.

But these difficulties, great as they were, appear light, in comparison with the dangers of the *first experiment*, and of the untrodden paths into which Mr. Sharp had boldly ventured, and to which his papers chiefly refer.

Of the hopes and disappointments which attended

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his enterprise, his own letters, and those of the poor Settlers themselves, will supply the fullest and most interesting accounts. The latter will be found necessarily below the standard of epistolary writing; but they are worthy to be inserted, because, even more than the preceding narrative, they represent, by a close and distinct view, such as the public has rarely been acquainted with, the natural struggles attendant on the formation of an infant colony.

Extracts from Letters from G. S. to Dr. J. Sharp.

23d June, 1787.

"I had the pleasure of hearing this day of the safe arrival of the African Settlers at the Madeira islands; and that all the jealousies and animosities between the Whites and Blacks had subsided, and that they had been very orderly ever since Mr. Vasa and two or three other discontented persons had been left on shore at Plymouth. Schools are established on board each ship, as I had proposed; and they have daily prayers. The account is from the chaplain, Mr. Fraser *.

"31st October, 1787.

"I have had but melancholy accounts of my poor little ill-thriven swarthy daughter, the unfortunate colony of Sierra Leone.

"They have, however, purchased twenty miles square of the finest and most beautiful country (they all allow)

* The Rev. Mr. Fraser, originally a member of the Scottish Church, was, at his own request, and in compliance with the wishes of the Settlers, allowed to attend the expedition.—*See Letter from G. S. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, August* 1786, *page* 10.

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that was ever seen! The hills are not steeper than Shooter's Hill; and fine streams of fresh water run down the hill on each side of the new township; and in the front is a noble bay, where the river is about three leagues wide: the woods and groves are beautiful beyond description, and the soil very fine. So that a little good management may, with God's blessing, still produce a thriving settlement."

G. S. to Mrs. ———, New York.

[EXTRACT.]

"Madam, "January 12, 1788.

"I have long delayed acknowledging your letter, in the daily expectation of hearing from some of the adventurers who sailed last spring to form a new settlement at Sierra Leone, on the coast of Africa; but I had no tidings of them till the middle of October last, and those but discouraging: so that I had no inducement to communicate them.

"Although the ships were ready to sail by Christmas, 1786, they did not get away till April last, which fatally postponed their arrival on the coast till the rainy season commenced; whereby dreadful fevers and a great mortality ensued, the people not having had time to prepare sufficient shelter and accommodation for themselves at their landing. But the greatest blame of all is to be charged on the intemperance of the people themselves; for the most of them (both Whites and Blacks) became so besotted during the voyage, that they were totally unfit for business when they landed, and could hardly be prevailed on to assist in erecting their own huts. Besides, the distempers occasioned by their intemperance carried off a large proportion of them before they reached the coast; so that the climate of Africa is by no means chargeable with the mor-

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tality, though our public prints have asserted the contrary, and have asserted also that the purposed settlement had entirely failed*. But I am not without hopes that it may still succeed and thrive. The code of Regulations which I drew up for the settlement, not being objected to by Government, was adopted by the Settlers before they sailed: and, if they would be careful to maintain it, they would become the freest and the happiest people on earth; because the poor are effectually provided for, and their rights secured,—the meanest cottager being allowed a due share of the land, besides a property and interest in the settlement. There are about two hundred Settlers still remaining in the township that was formed on their first

* The nature of the reports here alluded to, may be gathered from the following paragraph, which appeared in *The Times*.

"Sir J—— H——y stated, that in the spring of the year 1788 he had been at Sierra Leone, where he had touched in an East-India ship, and found the insalubrity of the climate such, that, of *one thousand seven hundred persons* who had been there in the preceding year, *only one* remained; all the rest having died there, with the exception of about twelve, who took refuge in an island in the river. One fourth of the crew of a vessel perished there during a stay of two months."

It is mortifying to observe in what degree the channels even of respectable papers were open to the most erroneous statements respecting this colony. The above paragraph was written *after* the publication of the complete Reports of the Sierra Leone Company.—It has already been shewn, that, instead of *seventeen* hundred settlers, about *four* hundred only went out at first from England: the mortality amounted to less than one half; and it will presently appear, that Captain Thompson remained at Sierra Leone during the whole rainy season with his Majesty's sloop Nautilus, and *lost one man only* by sickness! and even *his* death was not attributed to the climate, but to a fever caught by being wet through, while out a-shooting.

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landing; and they are still in peaceable possession of the free land which they obtained by voluntary agreement with the Natives. Any kind of cultivation may be carried on there. Cotton, in particular, it is supposed, may be raised of the most valuable texture, such as would always succeed at the London market; and rice, gum, dying wood, and other valuable articles innumerable, may also be raised with very little labour.

"I remain, dear madam," &c. &c.

"P. S. There are several people here, both Blacks and Whites, who are very desirous to join the Settlers, but have no means of obtaining a passage. If I could afford to fit out a proper ship at my own expense, I would certainly do it. I have several times offered to give 100*l.* towards the expenses; but it has not been deemed sufficient encouragement to undertake the business."

G. S. to Dr. Lettsom, M. D.

"Wicken Park, near Stony Stratford, Bucks,
October 13, 1788.

"Dear Sir,

"Your kind communication of a sensible letter from Dr. Thornton at Philadelphia, has devolved on me an indispensible duty to give you the fullest information in my power respecting the new settlement at Sierra Leone, because your friend seems to be heartily desirous to promote it.

"The opinion which he has adopted of my late worthy friend Dr. Fothergill, that the establishment of a free settlement on the coast of Africa for honourable trade would be the most effectual means of destroying the Slave Trade, has so far been always my own opinion, that it induced me to advance much more money than a private person in my situation ought to have done, among the

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first settlers, to encourage their embarkation last year*. Several circumstances concurred to injure this first attempt, though the expense of transports and subsistence, as also of tools, arms, &c. was defrayed by Government. Many of the Black poor were embarked in the river Thames before Christmas, 1786; but others delayed going on board till January and February, 1787, being deterred by a jealousy, which prevailed among them, that Government intended to send them to Botany Bay, as the transports for that expedition were then waiting at Portsmouth, where the ships for Sierra Leone were ordered also. On the 20th February, 1787, instead of

* The following minute stands in an "*Account Book of Expenses of Settlers on the Coast of Africa.*"

MS.—'Given to the settlement	*L.*111	14	8
'Lent to ditto	68	1	0
'Given to the individuals of ditto.....	45	3	8
'Lent to ditto.....	17	15	6
'Lent	118	10	4
	361	5	2
[Here follows a list of various presents given to purchase land, amounting in all to]....	14	14	0
'Lent to individuals, to enable them to redeem 'their pledged goods, &c. before they would 'embark	122	10	8
	498	10	7
'Other charges, making the total *L.*567 0 4			

'N. B. This account is exclusive of my expenses in 1788, 'when I sent out the Myro brig to assist the settlement; 'which amounted, with subsistence of poor Blacks since, 'to *L.*1168 18 4

'Add expenses above 567 0 4

*L.*1735 18 8

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700 Black poor, who had offered themselves to go to the proposed settlement, there were only 439 or 441 (for the accounts differ) that embarked on board the three transports appointed for them—viz. the Belisarius, Atlantic, and Vernon—which by that time were all arrived at Portsmouth. On the 22d February, 1787, they sailed, under the command of Captain Thompson, of his Majesty's sloop the Nautilus: but, meeting with stormy weather, they were separated; and it was the 19th of March before they were all collected in Plymouth Sound. Thus the best part of the season was lost; and many of the people had been on board above three months, and were become very sickly. Unhappily, the allowance of rum, granted to them by the Government with the most benevolent intention, really proved their greatest bane: many of them drank their whole day's allowance at once, and got drunk with it; and this irregularity, together with a diet of salt provisions, and being rather too much crowded between decks, increased the sickness, and occasioned the loss of more than fifty lives, it is said, even before they reached Plymouth. Other bad consequences of the rum were disagreements and mutinous behaviour, for which twenty-four were discharged; and twenty-three ran away. Nevertheless, by an account before me, 411 Settlers sailed from Plymouth on the 8th April, 1787; so that they must have had some recruits, though they are not mentioned in the list. Of these 411 persons who sailed from Plymouth, thirty-four died in April and May, before they had made any settlement on the coast, and fifteen were discharged, or ran away; and on the 16th of September, when his Majesty's sloop Nautilus left the settlement, there remained in all 276 persons: so that ninety-six must have died at Sierra Leone in June, July, August, and September, 1787. But this mortality on the

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coast is not to be attributed to the climate, for most of the people still continued intemperate, and they had not yet any fresh provisions; so that many of the sick did not recover of the distempers they carried with them: and the rainy season set in before they could finish their huts, which were therefore neither wind nor water tight; and this bad accommodation certainly increased the mortality *.

"I am obliged to be very prolix in my account, lest the misfortune should be attributed to the climate and country instead of the true causes.

"However, a fine tract of mountainous country, covered with beautiful trees of all kinds, was purchased at a trifling expense of a Negro Chief, called *King Tom*, extending from the watering-place in *Frenchman's Bay* (since called St. George's Bay) up to Gambia Island, which is above fifteen miles. I have since been informed, that the extent on the river is above twenty miles of the sourthern bank of Sierra Leone river, and twenty miles back all the way, which reaches almost across the promontory to the Sherbro river.

"This situation between two great rivers renders the air particularly temperate for that climate; and the advantages for trade will certainly be very great.

"Captain Thompson fixed upon a beautiful eminence,

"22d March, 1788.

* "Lieutenant Morton has procured for me an extract from the journal of the Nautilus, which is very agreeable to me. I find the mortality of Sierra Leone has not been so great as former accounts set forth; and that the Nautilus, out of near one hundred men, lost only one man during her long stay of four calendar months and one week, in the most dangerous season during the rains. So that there is ample reason to believe, that the loss of the Settlers was occasioned by their intemperance on ship-board, and the want of sufficient shelter

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rising from the side of a higher mountain, for the site of the new township, having a fine brook of fresh water on three sides of it. Above 360 town lots, of one acre each, were marked out in streets; and the lots were drawn and appropriated on the 12th June, 1787: but the death of Mr. Irwin, the agent conductor, as also of Mr. Gesau, the town-major (who was a good engineer, and had particular instructions and drawings for temporary works of defence and accommodations), and of Mr. Riccards, the gardener (on whose skill for the cultivation of vines and other useful produce I had built great expectations of public profit), and the desertion of many others, who had previously sold their muskets and other arms for strong liquors, occasioned great discouragement to those that remained.

"The sickness also of the Rev. Mr. Fraser, the chaplain, was another great misfortune to the settlement. His weak state of health obliged him to go to Bance Island, about thirty miles distant, as he was afraid of the want of accommodation in the new settlement. His disorder increased so much, that he came home in March last, seemingly in a deep consumption; which, however, cannot be attributed to the climate of the settlement, as he did not reside in it; and it is remarkable, that when he called there, just before his return to England, he found that he himself was the only unhealthy person in the settlement. The number of Settlers was then, as he told me, only 130 persons in all: which great reduction he did not attribute to sickness, but merely to emigration; for they were too poor, it seems, to purchase live stock of the Natives, without which even the best land becomes almost useless, and affords but a scanty subsistence.

from the rains when in a distempered state."—*Letter of G. S. to Dr. J. Sharp.*

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"On receiving this account, I was apprehensive that a total desertion was probable, and that all the public and private expenses that had been bestowed on this undertaking were in danger of being lost, together with that beautiful tract of land, and the opportunity of forming in it a free settlement (as an asylum for the poor) on the most eligible spot in all Africa.

"Impressed with this idea, I began to entertain thoughts of sending out, even at my own expense, some more poor people, both White and Black, with money to purchase at the Cape de Verd Islands some live-stock, the want of which, I believe, was the principal cause of desertion. But I was deterred for some time by the fear of so expensive an undertaking, until I received one hundred guineas, on the 21st March last, from a generous friend towards the support of the settlement; which fixed my determination to charter the Myro brig, of about 160 tons, Captain Taylor owner and commander, with whom I had before treated. I then provided clothes, bedding, tools, arms, and provisions, for fifty people; for though there was sufficient room in the brig for seventy, yet I remembered the bad consequences of crowding the former transports, and therefore wished to send rather too few than too many: and I was careful to furnish them with fresh provisions, and bread, and spruce-beer, all the time the ship lay in the river, and also with live swine to kill upon the voyage.

"After I had refused many passengers, for fear of crowding the vessel too much, several of those that had been admitted deserted the vessel, just as she was ready to sail, when it was too late for me to make up the complement; whereby only thirty-nine passengers, instead of fifty (the intended number), actually set out.

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"Among these were several very intelligent men—two of them surgeons of respectable abilities, Mr. Tacitus and Mr. Peale; and also Mr. Irwin, son of our late agent conductor. I gave them 190 dollars, to purchase 1000 fowls and fifty head of small breeding cattle (goats, sheep, and swine), at the Cape de Verd Islands. All these preparations, and the money I was obliged to advance, cost me above 900*l.* to my own share, besides the 100 guineas before mentioned given me, and also fifty guineas more given by the said generous friend towards the expense. Afterwards I obtained from Government 200*l.* toward furnishing more live-stock; which enabled me to make a second contract with Captain Taylor for 400 head of small breeding cattle, 500 fowls, and twelve cows and two bulls, to be paid for upon receiving a certificate of the delivery from the settlement. This second contract amounted to 250*l.*—viz. 50*l.* more than I received at the Treasury. However, I considered this business as a great national concern, and that it was my duty to use my utmost exertions, without weighing my own inconvenience.

"The vessel sailed from the Downs, with a strong gale of wind, but perfectly fair for her, on the 7th of June last, and, to my great anxiety, I have heard nothing of her since!!

"Before the end of June last, I received a very alarming account of the settlement from Mr. Richard Weaver, the chief magistrate, dated the 23d April, 1788, informing me that the greatest part of the people had emigrated, some to the neighbouring *Slave-factors*, and some on board the Slave-ships; and that King Tom, of whom the land was purchased, presuming on the weakness of the remainder, had sold two of the Settlers for slaves, and threatened to sell more. This was the more mortifying to me,

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because I had hoped to secure not only the *privileges*, but the title also, of the *Province of Freedom* to the new settlement.

"I immediately wrote to Mr. Pitt, and requested that immediate directions might be given to the Captain of the man of war, then under orders for the coast, to secure the people from further molestation. Mr. Weaver did not inform me what number of people remained at the settlement at the time he wrote (viz. 23d April); but I hope the Myro brig, by God's providence, might arrive in time to save a total dispersion of the Settlers.—This is all the information I am able at present to give of the state of the settlement; and having done the utmost in my power to save it, I must now leave the support of this infant community to persons whose means are not so slender and insufficient for such public exertions as my own."

[The letter here enumerates several persons who were willing to join or otherwise promote the colony, if they could be properly assisted.]

"The accounts I have heard of the country and climate are much more flattering than the state I have just given of the settlement itself. Sir George Young, of the Navy, assured me, before the Black poor sailed last year, that *Frenchman's Bay*, in which the first township is formed, is, without exception, as fine a harbour as any in the world; that the mountains, which abound with brooks of fresh water, are covered with the most noble forests and perpetual verdure. He gave particular directions to Captain Thompson where to find this spot for the principal town.

"If your friend wants more information concerning the country and climate, he must read the accounts published by Lieutenant Matthews, of the Navy, who lived at a Negro town on the peninsula about three years—being

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employed indeed in the Slave Trade, for which he is an advocate, though his arguments do more harm to his cause than good; but in other respects he is a person of credit.

"The natural products are equal to the most sanguine hopes of gain. Fine cotton, and the best indigo in the world; gum copal; castor nuts for oil; a variety of spices grow wild upon the mountains, as well as the finest timber, fit for every purpose; and the seas abound with most excellent fish, three kinds of turtle, besides prodigious quantities of oysters, prawns, &c. Nothing was wanting but breeding cattle, and tame fowls, to render life comfortable; and I trust in God's mercy, that my poor endeavours will before this time have happily supplied that deficiency.

"I have but one other point to mention. Your friend dislikes the name of a colony, and wishes rather to promote *a free settlement*. I am as zealous for freedom, and for all the rights of humanity, as he can be, and therefore I have adopted the ancient English *frank-pledge* as the basis of all the regulations proposed for the *new settlement*; being thoroughly persuaded that every place must of course be a *free settlement* wherever frank-pledge—and more especially that most essential branch of it, a constant watch and ward, by regular rotation, of all the males from sixteen to sixty, with their own arms in their own hands (*arma pacis et defensionis*)—is maintained; and that colonies, or even kingdoms and monarchies, may be rendered perfectly free and happy by this glorious patriarchal system; which is the only effectual antidote to unlimited or illegal government of any kind, whether under monarchic, aristocratical, or democratical forms: for by this, such effectual balance of power may be certainly maintained, that the whole can act as one man, though every separate family

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shall still enjoy its due share of power, as far as is consistent with the rights and sentiments of the majority.

"I remain with great esteem," &c. &c.

LETTERS FROM THE SETTLERS TO MR. SHARP.

[The first of these letters is of a very early date in the settlement, and appears to contain the *discouraging tidings* alluded to by Mr. Sharp, p. 85.]

—— *Elliot to Mr. Granville Sharp.*

"Honoured Sir, "Sierra Leone, 20th July, 1787.

"I am sorry, and very sorry indeed, to inform you, dear Sir, that this country does not agree with us at all; and, without a very sudden change, I do not think there will be one of us left at the end of a twelvemonth. Neither can the people be brought to any rule or regulation, they are so very obstinate in their tempers. It was really a very great pity ever we came to the country, after the death of Mr. Smeathman; for we are settled upon the very worst part. There is not a thing, which is put into the ground, will grow more than a foot out of it. We are situated on a very high hill, where nothing will come forth at all. Mr. Irwin is dead, which puts every thing out of its order entirely; and, what is more surprising, the *Natives* die very fast: it is quite a plague seems to reign here among us. I have been dangerously ill myself, but it pleased the Almighty to restore me to health again; and the first opportunity I have, I shall embark for the West Indies.

"The King has offered to build me a large house for a school, for me to teach those who would wish to learn; but their manner of living is so very bad and poor, that I cannot accept of the offer. There is nothing to be got in

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the place but fowls; and as to any other food, it is next to nothing. Rice is the best thing they have.

"I had such short notice of the ship coming away, that I have not time to give any further particulars of the country.

"I am, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

"A. ELLIOT."

"N. B. I suppose you will not recollect who I am. If you look over your papers, you will see that I am the young man that you lent the 1*l.* 6s. to; for which I am in duty bound to pray for your goodness."

Mr. Weaver, Chief Magistrate in the Colony of Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Honoured Sir, "Sierra Leone, 23d April, 1788.

"I now inform you of our proceedings during the time of our arrival at Sierra Leone, which was on the 9th day of May 1787; and on the 14th day the land was paid for; and next day all the people went on shore to cut a passage to get on the hill, to display the English colours. Then the body of people called a meeting, on purpose to choose their officers, whereby they choosed me to be their chief in command. During the time that I was in station, every thing was carried on quite regularly, until please God afflicted me with sickness, which was about three months and three weeks: then one John Reid was chosed in my stead, who made away with the chiefest part of the stores, and sold them; and even the body of the people missed the things, and called him to account for the same, when he could give no account of them at all, but took the opportunity of running away by night, and has been away ever since.

"And now I acquaint you of the state of our people, and situation we are in. Several of the people have left

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the place, I may safely say the chief part of them; some a trading in vessels for slaves; others at factories, doing what they can to get provision for their support, for we are very much in distress here: and King Tom has taken upon himself to sell two of the people, and he says that he will sell more of them, whereby I think within my own breast that Government did not take the pains to send us here to be made slaves of. And, Sir, I now acquaint you that we came too late to plant any rice, or any thing else, for the heavy rains washes all out of the ground; and we must stay till next month, to plant a little rice. And, Sir, I inform you that I was the person that went on board the Vernon at first, with my wife and child, and there continued till we arrived at Sierra Leone.

"Sir, I am your humble and obedient servant,

"RICHARD WEAVER."

Mr. James Reid, Chief in Command in the New Colony of Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

[EXTRACT.]

"Dear Friend, "Sierra Leone, September, 1788.

"We did not find our arrival at our new settlement according to our wishes; for we arrived in the rainy season and very sickly, so that our people died very fast, on account of our lying exposed to the weather, and no houses, only what tents we could make, and that was little or no help to us, for the rain was so heavy it beat the tents down. But now, thank God, we have got houses, such as the country will afford, which does middling well; and we that are in being try every experiment in regard of proving the land, to be sensible what it will produce, and find the more we cultivate the better the land seems to turn out, in regard of the country roots and herbs. But our English seeds do not thrive; none that we brought out with us, as

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we have tried them; but that is owing to the seeds being too old.

"There is one thing that would be very helpful to us: if we had an agent or two out here with us*, to carry on some sort of business in regard of trade; so that we could rely a little sometimes on them for a small assistance, until our crops were fit to dispose of, and then pay them. It would be of infinite service to all the poor Settlers, as provisions are scarce to be got—no, not one mouthful sometimes—which obliges us to dispose of all our clothes, and other few necessaries that we have; though, God knows, they are not much, for we are almost naked of every thing.

"I must now inform you of my misfortune that happened after Captain Thompson's departure from us, as I was left chief in command. Our people was served out muskets, every man as he was able to carry arms, and there was remaining about eighty-nine spare ones: *them* I had secured in our store-house as well as I could, though it was very poorly secured, so that I proposed having them brought up to my own house for better security; and when I came to muster the people to do this, I could get not one person to assist, neither *would* they, except one or two, that lived in my house, was obliged to do it; and, on examining the muskets, found there was only thirty-six remaining. There was sixty-three muskets stolen by our people, by whom I knew not. After that, Mr. Weaver and Mr. Johnson held with the people, and told them that I had made away with them myself, and got them under arms against me; and they rised on me, and seized my house, and took it from me, and all what little I had in the

* This proposition was afterwards adopted by the St. George's Bay (or Sierra Leone) Company.

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world, and sold it, to pay for those things that was lost, all which I suppose you have heard of before this time. But when you receive this, you will be a better judge; and I hope you will take it into consideration.

"After they broke me, they thought to have God's blessing, as they said. The first thing was a young lad found shot, lying in the woods, but never found who was the person that did it. The second was, they got in a little trouble with King Tom, and he catched two of them, and sold them on board a Frenchman bound for the West Indies. The third was, five of them went up to Bance Island, and broke open a factory belonging to one Captain Boys, and stole a number of things; but they were detected; and Captain Boys sold the whole five of them," &c. &c.

[The remainder of the letter entreats a supply of necessaries, and encloses a will of William Ramsay in favour of the writer, bequeathing to him all property lying in the Treasury, &c.]

"I remain," &c.

"JAMES REID."

Such as the foregoing letters have displayed, was the general temper of the Colony; and such, in chief, the detail of what had passed among the Settlers, who, by the unfortunate loss of their conductor Irwin, had been left entirely to their own controul, and with no other rule of guidance than the written instructions which Mr. Sharp had delivered to them before their departure from England.

Mr. Sharp, it is obvious, although discouraged, did not despair of final success. He still preserved

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a confidence in the conduct of the settlers, if enabled to withstand the difficulties which surrounded them; and he made, as will be further shewn, the most strenuous exertions for the recruit of their strength and the support of their settlement.

SAILING OF THE MYRO.

MS. — 1788. 'May 1. Waited this day on Sir 'Charles Middleton, Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. 'Pitt, about the sailing of the Myro.'

'June 2. The Myro brig fell down from Black-'wall. I took leave of the Captain.'

'June 3. Sent on board the King George, Graves-'end boat, twelve hogsheads of porter, a present 'from Samuel Whitbread, Esq. to the new settle-'ment, to overtake the brig Myro. N. B. Mr. 'Whitbread had before given fifty guineas *.'

'6th. Received 200*l.* from the Treasury for the 'new contract with Captain Taylor.

'7th. The Myro sailed this day from the Downs, 'with a fair wind.'

* *G. S. to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. Portman Square.*

"Dear Sir, "June 5, 1788.

"Yesterday the two servants whom I sent down to the Myro brig at Gravesend, to deliver your very kind and princely present of porter for the new settlement at Sierra Leone, returned, and brought the enclosed receipt from the mate, in the absence of the master. I wrote a letter to the passengers on board, informing them that your generous donation is intended for the benefit of the whole settlement; that they must be careful that the most temperate and proper use be made of it for the

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*Letter sent by the Myro to the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains * of Sierra Leone.*

" Leadenhall Street, London,
16th May, 1788.

" Dear Friends,

" Ever since your departure from England, in April 1787, I have been exceedingly anxious for your welfare; but more particularly so, since the return of his Majesty's sloop Nautilus, by which I received a melancholy account of many deaths, which happened soon after your first arrival, as well as during the voyage. This extraordinary sickness, I fear, may be too truly attributed to the imprudence of those who daily consumed their full allowance of salt provisions, as well as of rum, against which I repeatedly warned many of them before they sailed. Certainly the climate of Sierra Leone is not chargeable with this great mortality of the Settlers; for the disorder among them commenced long before you reached the African coast; and it appears that his Majesty's sloop Nautilus lost *but one man* during all the time she was at Sierra Leone, from the 8th of May to the 16th of September.

general good; and that they must endeavour to exchange it with the Natives for rice, and also for such articles of commerce as may prove of the most advantage to the settlement.

" My letter was read aloud to the passengers, and they seemed truly thankful for the noble proof of your benevolence.

" With great respect," &c. &c. " G. S."

Is it probable, from the mention here made of the fifty guineas, that the former donation of one hundred guineas (p. 92) was likewise from Mr. Whitbread?

* Alluding to the situation which Captain Thompson had at first fixed on.

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"The reduction of your numbers since that time, as I am informed, has been chiefly occasioned, not by sickness, but by desertion, probably through the difficulty of procuring fresh provisions: and, lest the same cause should occasion a total desertion of the settlement, my earnest desire to prevent it has induced me to charter the Myro brig at my own expense, to carry passengers to recruit the new settlement; and I have shipped two months' provisions for sixty persons (as about that number had given their names, though little more than half the number have kept their word), with arms, bedding, clothing, and other necessaries, for such of them as might be destitute. I have, besides, advanced one hundred and ninety dollars, for purchasing live stock at the Cape de Verd Islands, which, I am informed, will procure about one thousand fowls, thirty head of small cattle for breeding (viz. sheep, goats, and swine), and a bull with two cows and calves, which are as many as the vessel can conveniently carry, with the passengers on board. This *live stock* I propose to send for the common benefit, and desire that proper persons may be appointed by your common council (with a sufficient salary from the tax-labour for their trouble) to take charge separately of each species of cattle and fowls, and to feed and preserve them in distinct flocks, according to their species, that they may breed and increase for the public benefit.

"I must also request that you will take due care that no individual shall appropriate to himself any of the said cattle or fowls, until he shall have duly indentured for as many days' labour to your public bank as you shall judge the animals to be really worth; adding to the first cost a calculation of the average proportion of freight, insurance, &c. and a profit besides of at least twenty per cent. or else fifty per cent. upon the cost, in order to include

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freight, insurance, and profit, according to the general custom of the African coast; which will be a fair means of gradually distributing the animals for private property, to prevent disputes among yourselves, and at the same time will be the means of enriching your public bank for the common benefit of all the settlement. So great an advance as fifty per cent. may, perhaps, seem too high and inconvenient to individuals in the present case; but as you *yourselves alone* are to reap the benefit of it, in your joint capacity as a community, I trust, that the common council of the settlement will think it prudent to avail themselves of this fair opportunity to establish their bank, by taking indents to the full amount of what I have proposed, for all the cattle that are taken by individuals.

"As I have thus incurred a very great expense, not only this year, but also on your first embarkation last year, without the least view of any private interest to myself, but rather for a general good, in promoting a just and honourable trade in African productions, in contradistinction to the Slave Trade, and also for the peculiar advantage of yourselves and the Settlers, I trust you will be so sensible of this, that you will not deny my earnest request to you, as a favour to myself, that you will readily admit all the persons that are now passengers on board the Myro, People of Colour as well as White, together with the captain, mates, and such of the seamen as desire it, to an equal share with yourselves in the settlement, *gratis*, agreeably to what is proposed in page 122 of the additional Regulations; and (as the rainy season will probably be set in) that you will also receive them into your houses, and afford them the best accommodation you can give, with assistance to procure shelter also for their goods, cattle, and fowls; and to aid them in erecting houses for themselves, as soon as the weather will permit."

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[Mr. Sharp here proceeds to request free lots for the several persons whose arrival at the Province of Freedom might be expected at *an ensuing period**.]

"The late alarming desertions from the settlement made me apprehensive that all the rest would be obliged to disperse in like manner, unless a speedy supply of *live-stock*, with some recruits, could be immediately sent out. This induced me to exert my utmost endeavours for your support, which will cost me near 900*l.*, all of which is out of my own pocket, except one hundred guineas which were given me by a generous friend toward the promotion of your settlement.

* Among these, the following paragraph mentions

"The Rev. Mr. Thomas Clarkson, a gentleman who has eminently distinguished himself, by several excellent publications, as an able, strenuous, and successful advocate for the liberty and natural rights of the Negroes, and who at present is prevented from joining the settlement by his continued indefatigable exertions in the same just cause, as a member of the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade; to which Society a continuance of his assistance is at present indispensibly necessary;"—"Lieutenant John Clarkson of the Royal Navy, brother to the Rev. Mr. Clarkson above mentioned, a gentleman every way qualified to render you very essential service, as a member of your free community;"—"Mr. Peter Nassau, son of Peter King of Massurada;—Mr. William Johnson, a Mulatto, who redeemed him from slavery in the West Indies;—Henry Martin Burrows, a poor Negro, saved this year from slavery, by a writ of Habeas Corpus, from on board a Honduras ship;"—"also twelve Swedish gentlemen of rank, great learning, and abilities (several of them members of Universities, whose names are enclosed), and whose free admission will be highly beneficial to the settlement in general, and will probably be a means of opening to you an extensive communication with the *internal* parts of Africa, which they (with the most benevolent intentions toward the Natives) mean to explore."

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"And further, as I feared that the live stock already mentioned (notwithstanding the great expense) would be too small a quantity for an effectual aid to the settlement; and as the Myro would not be able to carry more during the existence of my first charter-party, I applied to his Majesty's Treasury for 200*l.* in behalf of the settlement, which I conceived would purchase as much as the Myro would be able to carry, with allowance of freight, risque, &c. This sum has been granted to me; and as I found afterwards that it would require 50*l.* more to make such a contract with the master of the Myro as might leave a probability of his obtaining an adequate profit for his risque and charges, I have taken upon myself to pay whatever exceeds the 200*l.*, and have accordingly entered into a second charter-party with Captain Taylor, to deliver alive at the Province five hundred head of small cattle, and five hundred fowls, at 10s. per head for the cattle (the fowls to be included for that price).

"Thus the money which I have now given on my own part, together with what I have procured, for your present relief, is more than fourteen times the first purchase of your whole territory; so that I cannot conceive that you will deny my earnest and repeated request of admitting all the present passengers in the Myro, and all the other persons mentioned in this letter, when they arrive, to equal shares with yourselves in the *Province of Freedom, gratis.*

"Your sincere friend and servant,

"GRANVILLE SHARP*."

* This letter to the first settlers was enclosed in another, addressed "*To the Passengers on board the Myro;*" in which, after expressing the warmest solicitude for their welfare, Mr. Sharp enters into the most minute detail for the regulation of

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The letter from Weaver (as stated to Dr. Lettsom) arrived soon after the sailing of the Myro, and Mr. Sharp's application to Mr. Pitt instantly followed.

G. S. to the Right Hon. William Pitt.

[EXTRACT.]

"Right Hon. Sir, "June (or July), 1788.

"A letter which I have just received from the chief person in command in the new settlement at Sierra Leone, gives me much concern. The contents are of such a nature, that I think it my duty briefly to represent to you the substance of them.—[See Letter from *Weaver*, p. 95.]

"The letter is dated the 23d April last, the very day that I contracted for a ship, to send a reinforcement of settlers, and some live stock (which I suspected they would want), for their support; and I trust in God that they may arrive in due time to afford a seasonable relief, and prevent the total dispersion of the people. The second contract for live stock, which the benevolent donation of 200*l.* from his Majesty's Treasury enabled me to make, and of which I have sent a copy to the settlement, will be still a further encouragement to the people to stay. But yet a larger body of Settlers is wanted, to oppose the treachery of the Natives, instigated by the *English slave-dealers* in the neighbouring factories, whose influence, I have great reason to suspect, has prompted the avarice of King Tom, and occasioned his breach of faith; for I find by another letter that all the surviving White people, the three sur-

their conduct, both during their voyage and after they shall have reached the settlement.—See extract in the *Appendix*, No. xi.

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geons *, and the land-surveyor that was sent out last year at the expense of Government, have actually entered the service of the slave-dealers; and that the greater part also of the Black poor are gone into the same detestable service at different factories in the neighbourhood, and some even on board the slave-ships.

"I humbly submit, whether it may not be expedient that the commander of the man of war, or frigate, now under orders for that coast, should have directions to represent to King Tom the impropriety of his conduct, in interfering with the poor people, contrary to his solemn engagement, and to compel him also to declare the names of the persons to whom he sold the men, and of the ships in which they were sent away; that the plagiaries may receive exemplary punishment, and that the planters may be prosecuted for buying stolen men," &c. &c.

* Viz. The two before named (p. 92), and Mr. Hills, the writer of the letter; who acknowledged his having been drawn away by the offer of a considerable salary.

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CHAP. VIII.

DURING the interval of suspense that succeeded to Mr. Sharp's application to the Minister, his solicitude for his Colony appeared in a second charge addressed to the Settlers.

To the worthy Inhabitants of the Province of Freedom, in the Mountains of Sierra Leone.

[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Friends, " September 4, 1788.

" Soon after the sailing of the Myro brig, in June last, a letter from Mr. Richard Weaver, at that time hundreder and chief in your settlement, informed me that the greatest part of the people had left the settlement; and (to my great concern and surprise) that some of them were gone in the slave-ships, to trade for slaves, and that others were gone to the neighbouring slave-factories!!

" I could not have conceived that men who were well aware of the wickedness of slave-dealing, and had themselves been sufferers (or at least many of them) under the galling yoke of bondage to slave-holders, some in the West Indies and others in America, should become so basely depraved as to yield themselves instruments to promote and extend the same detestable oppression over their brethren.

" I hope you will make an order in council, that none of these deserters, who have had any concern in the Slave Trade since the settlement of the new colony, shall be

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re-admitted into the community; but that their lots and shares in the settlement, and their houses, and whatever property they may have left, shall be deemed forfeited to the public bank, for the benefit of the whole community; and that the same forfeiture and disinheritance shall be incurred also by every person that shall at any time hereafter be convicted of selling a slave, or being in any way accessary to the sale or the bondage of a human being! And this I earnestly recommend to be enacted for a perpetual constitutional law of the settlement.

"I gave immediate notice to the Minister of State of the outrage committed by King Tom, and requested .... [see Letter to *Mr. Pitt*, p. 106.] I have likewise desired a particular friend of the Minister to urge the necessity of sending out those orders, so that I trust they have not been neglected. The passengers on board the Myro (if it was God's pleasure that they should arrive safe) would afford you such a comfortable reinforcement (being all well armed), as I hope might enable you, if you keep up a strict military watch and ward by rotation among yourselves, to awe King Tom from further attempts. But as Mr. Weaver has not mentioned the number of Settlers that remained when he wrote, I am very anxious for your safety, and earnestly wish, for your own sakes, that you will give all possible encouragement to the new Settlers, until the number amount at least to three hundred males able to bear arms; and that you should send notice, at every opportunity, of what numbers are deficient of the proposed establishment, that others may be induced to join the settlement by the hopes of obtaining free lots."

[He then requests that free lots may be granted, for his sake, to three other persons coming from England.]

"In making this request, I have not the least

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mercenary private interest, but only a public interest of love and zeal for the general welfare of the settlement, founded in the hopes that it may, in good time, extensively promote the glorious cause of liberty, and gradually reduce the detestable tyranny, which the great Spiritual Slaveholder, and Enemy of mankind, has set up, and too long maintained, in Africa, to the disgrace of human nature: but be assured, that unless you join in sincere daily prayers for the safety and increase of the settlement, with earnest public resolutions, in your assemblies, of maintaining strict righteousness and law on all occasions, it will be folly to hope for success; for, 'unless the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh in vain.'

"I remain, with sincere wishes for your welfare, your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"G. S."

In the mean time, the arrival of the Myro at Sierra Leone answered all the hopes which Mr. Sharp had ventured to indulge, and called forth expressions of gratitude from the Settlers in the following singular letters. The contents of the first insinuate that some peculiar method had been adopted to ensure its reaching Mr. Sharp's hands in safety. The second is without a date, but is obviously dictated by the same occasion. The accounts in both, of the calumnies which had been industriously propagated concerning the Colonists, and of the difficulties thrown in the way of the new settlement, are too consistent with other circumstances to leave any doubt of their truth.

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The Old Settlers at Sierra Leone, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

[Post-mark, *Merazion*; and added, "Alex^r. Sanders's writing."]

"Honoured Sir, "September 8, 1788.

"We, your humble and most grateful servants, return you, and the rest of our honourable and most humane friends, our hearty thanks, for the manifold cares and gracious providences which they have been pleased to extend toward us, and sincerely hope that your great goodness will not impute any of our former failings (if they are to be traced as such) to the want of indastry, gratitude, or a knowledge of our superior duties toward our good Christian friends; we being conscious of the many injuries done us from aspersions (since our arrival here to settle under your gracious dispensation), which, as far as we can learn, have been principally framed by the enemies to our happiness as well as to truth and righteousness—such as those which have been choked with bribes, so as to fall under a sacrifice of their own wretched avarice. Such were the diabolical spirits, under a false pretence of doing us good, who have too truly been first the instigators of all our confusions, and likewise of the many miseries which we have experienced since our landing on this soil; which is clearly evident from the very crowded appearance of our burials; and more so, when considering that great number which have abandoned themselves from this settlement;—the whole of which we have essayed oftentimes to give you an account of, but have found our endeavours hitherto abortived, either from the rascality of the captains, as packet-bearers, who through some particular views have destroyed them, or otherwise through their indifference have lost them: so that nothing else, as we find, can prove effectual in communicating

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letters with any degree of safety into your hands. We are therefore determined, ever hereafter, to use what policy we are possibly able to collect, in the conveyance of either packets or private letters; one specimen of which your great goodness will discover, when opening this packet. For nothing of nature could have struck us with greater astonishment, than the different statements which the arrival of the Myro brig furnished us with—viz. that you had not received but two or three letters from us, when, to speak within compass, we do solemnly declare unto you, Sir, that we have not sent less than a hundred, at different times, since our first landing here; in which there has been, from time to time, every satisfactory account given of the whole of the transactions and proceedings of this settlement. And truly it is, that the Almighty God has been pleased to make us feel the weighty effects of some of our imprudences in many respects, by which we are taught what we know not before; for we are now satisfied in our own breasts, that the love of God and his righteousness bear the only true source of our happiness.

"We have the pleasure further to inform you, great Sir, that we have made a good progress in clearing our land, all except our water lots, which remain as yet in a state of *anorky*, through our weakness in number of people; but we hope to have some tolerable good crops this season. We have not had the opportunity of building any houses as yet, neither is our town incorporated: but there is one thing which we have to boast of, that your great goodness has excited a courage in us, that we had nearly lost through our many embarrassments; so as we are determined to follow your plans in building, as soon as the weather will permit us, especially the three principal houses—viz. church, court-house, and prison. But still we find ourselves greatly at a loss for cement

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for the bricks: as to lime-stone and oyster-shells, which you were told were very plentiful here, you may depend on it, Sir, that is not the case, as we can assure you that both of the articles are very scarce: for it is seldom that we can get an oyster without paying a very extortional price for them, as there is none growing near the spot where we are settled, and the natives are so very crafty that they will not suffer us to catch any on their grounds: so that the quantity of chalk, which you were pleased to send out with the late passengers to the settlement, would have been of universal service to us, if we had been so fortunate as to have got it; but, alas! we never knew any thing of its being general, till it was forfeited to Captain Taylor by his charter-party. We offered then to get it out, and give him ballast in lieu of it, which he said was as valuable to him; but he still would not let us have it, without we would agree to pay him twice the value of it each day as demurrage, as long as we should be getting it out; so that we deemed it most requisite to let it remain on board. Captain Taylor has had the greatest advantage of us, which he did not fail to triumph in, only from being deputed by your gracious goodness, as we judge, to settle a *palaver* with the Natives about our watering-place, &c.; in which, to give Satan his due, he exerted himself more than what we might have expected; and the Natives have been pretty quiet since the arrival of the brig. But before, according to what they have been monitored by the Liverpool traders, were very intruding, by sending repeated challenges to our *senit*, and endeavouring to aggravate us, as much as possible, to break the peace with them, and leaving us under constant apprehensions of being all massacred, for two months before the brig's arrival: but we heartily thank God, and our feeling friends, for our safe deliverance; but we do jointly request, that your

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honourable goodness will no longer leave us in this perilous situation, without granting us some better means of defence: for, in case of an attack from the natives, the small arms would only serve to aggravate our guilt the more in the sight of our adversaries; for those people are well acquainted with the use of small arms, and dread nothing in war, it seems, but a superior number of them. We poor handful of men stand but a poor chance, either in appearance or competition itself, for they are swarming round thousands thick, and the greatest number which we are able to muster is only forty odd: but even that number in a garrison, supposing it ever so small, would be able to defend themselves pretty handsomely: so that we humbly hope that your goodness will not fail in supplying us, if possible, with six or eight long nines and sixes, as articles so highly necessary to our present preservation; as we intend also, if please God, to build our fortification in the next dry season, on Captain Thompson's Hill, which will completely defend the town from the Natives, and answer almost every other purpose of defence.

"And, also, may it please your honourable goodness to let us have a town-bell, as we find it very ill-convenient to call the people to prayers.

"So, in humble hopes that your goodness will early comply with our ardent and most sincere request, we beg leave to commend you to Almighty God, to multiply on you his perpetual blessings; which will be ever the fervent prayers of your humble and devoted servants,

"THE OLD SETTLERS AT SIRA [SIERRA] LEONE."

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir,

"Being assembled (few and insignificant as we are) for the purpose of offering grateful thanks to our benefactors, it was impossible to forget HIM who has been the

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great source and support of our hopes. We need not use many words. We are those who were considered as slaves, even in England itself, till your aid and exertions set us free. We are of those whose minds and bodies are bartered from hand to hand on the coast of Africa, and in the West Indies, as the ordinary commodities of trade. But it is said that we are the factors of our own slavery, and sell one another at our own market for a price. No doubt but in our uncivilized state we commit much evil; but surely the trader cannot believe that the strong on the coast of Africa are entitled to deprive the weak of every right of humanity, and to devote to the most cruel slavery them and their posterity for ever; or that it belongs to him, more enlightened than we, to execute so horrid a doom. But our cause is in better hands than our own; and humbleness and sobriety, we are sensible, will best become our condition: and this, also, we know to be the return desired by you, looking for your own peculiar reward in the consciousness of doing good.

"But yet, Sir, you may allow us to believe that the name of GRANVILLE SHARP, our constant and generous friend, will be drawn forth by our more enlightened posterity, and distinguishingly marked in future times for gratitude and praise.

(Signed *)

"THOMAS COOPER.	"JOHN SCOT.
GEO. ROBT. MANDEVILLE.	JORGE DENT.
JOHN STUART.	THOS. OXFORD.
DANIEL CHRISTOPHER.	JAMES BALEY.
BERNARD ELLIOTT.	JAMES FRAZER.
JAMES FORSTER.	THOMAS CARLISLE."

* Each in his own handwriting.

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Some disasters, however, had attended the reinforcement sent by the Myro, and numerous obstacles still opposed themselves to the security of the colony, but not sufficient either to damp the courage and perseverance of its founder, or wholly to destroy the satisfaction which he derived from the success of his last effort.

G. S. to the Hon. John Jay, President of the Society at New York for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, &c. and protecting such of them as have been liberated.

[EXTRACT.]

(In answer to a Letter dated Sept. 1, 1788, inserted vol. i. p. 376.)

"Sir, "March 7, 1789.

"I am truly sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the Society at New York for promoting the Manumission of Slaves, &c., and request you, Sir, to return my sincere thanks for so great a mark of their favour, and approbation of my poor endeavours in the same charitable cause which they patronize. I ought, indeed, to have made my acknowledgments much sooner; but I was then in daily expectation of the arrival of a small ship, the *Myro* brig, Captain Taylor, which I sent out last June to the coast of Africa, with some poor Negroes and other Settlers, to the new settlement at Sierra Leone; and as I had heard that there are also many poor Negroes at New York, and other parts of America, who wish to find a comfortable settlement on the coast of Africa, and that the States were inclined to provide them with shipping, I thought it right to defer my answer, until I should be able (by the return of the Myro) to give some more authentic account of the present state of that settlement; because my only views in promoting it seem to be perfectly similar

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to the declared purposes of your Society; for I wished that the Province of Freedom, on the Mountains of Sierra Leone, might become a happy asylum for the liberated Negroes of America and the West Indies, as well as of the Black poor sent from England.—It is but within a very few days that I have received the long-expected letters from the settlement, and the diary of Captain Taylor's proceedings.—I am sorry to inform you, that the accounts are much more unfavourable than I had reason to expect: thirteen persons out of thirty-nine, whom I sent by the Myro, are dead; and almost all the passengers had been ill. This, however, I still find, is not to be attributed altogether to the climate, but to a total neglect in clearing the underwood near the settlement, and to the want of judgment in the Settlers, who have built their houses and huts on swampy ground, near the bottom of a hill, instead of the top of it, where Captain Thompson, who conducted the first Settlers, pitched his tent: for that gentleman assured me that he found a much cooler and fresher sea-breeze at the top of the little hill, than even on board his ship, which lay out at some distance from shore; and that there are some very high hills, on which all degrees of climate are to be found. It seems, also, that too free a use of strong liquors (notwithstanding the earnest warning I gave to the passengers of the *Myro* concerning the fatal intemperance of the former Settlers) is still to be reckoned among the causes of continued impediment and sickness. I do not yet repent, however, of the great expense I have been at in assisting the settlement; for I still hope that it may be maintained, and improved by a little prudent management.

"Great numbers of the dispersed Settlers returned on the arrival of the *Myro*; and King Naimbanna, one of the most powerful chiefs in that neighbourhood, who before

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refused to sign the former deed of purchase for the land, and lately, just before the arrival of the *Myro*, had even given the Settlers warning to quit the settlement, has now formed a solemn covenant with Captain Taylor in behalf of the Settlers; and, in consideration of the presents received as the stipulated price of *re-purchase*, has signed a complete deed of resignation to the Settlers for ever, of all the land before granted by King Tom, whose successor, since his death, has also signed the deed, with some other chiefs: so that my sending the Myro has really saved the settlement. But King Naimbanna has reserved to himself a duty of fifteen bars, to be paid by all ships which water in the Bay: each bar is worth about 8s. 4d.

"Captain Thompson likewise informs me, that the distance from *St. George's Bay* (formerly called *Frenchman's Bay*), where the new settlement commences on the *west* side, to Gambia Island, the *eastern* boundary of it, is above twenty miles: so that the new territory is really much larger than the whole island of Barbadoes, being twenty miles each way, or full four hundred square miles of land, covered with noble forests of timber and perpetual verdure.

"When Captain Taylor left the settlement last September, the number of people was still about one hundred and thirty in all; and I have no doubt they will gladly receive any free Negroes that the States of America shall be pleased to assist with passage, provisions, and necessaries for defence and establishment; provided that such new Settlers will promise to observe and maintain the present laws and regulations of the settlement, which are founded on the Common Law of England.

"I have not yet been able to hear of any other part of the African coast that is equally fit for a free settlement; and I am well aware that your States may probably be

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unwilling to incur any considerable expense in supplying a territory with inhabitants, who must be required to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Crown of England; the first purchase of the lands, as well as the second, having been made in the King's name. But as the Government of England permits the Settlers to make their own laws (*i. e.* such as are not inconsistent with the *Common Law of England*), to hold their own courts, assemblies, folkmotes, &c. to choose their own chiefs and officers, and to keep up a free militia amongst themselves,—the settlement, on such conditions, must of necessity be perfectly free.

"For your further information, I send you the printed Regulations.

"Having incurred a very large expense already in the new settlement, I cannot afford it any further pecuniary assistance at present; but I shall be very happy to use my best endeavours to promote the kind reception of all such free Negroes, or other persons, as the States of America, or your Society, shall think proper to send thither; provided they have no objections to the Regulations.

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

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CHAP. IX.

In the Spring of 1789, Mr. Sharp appears to have been called on by the Lords of the Treasury, to give an account of the state of his Colony. In a letter (dated 4th May 1789) to Thomas Steele, Esq. one of the principal secretaries, he apologises for "not having returned a more speedy answer respecting the information required by the Lords Commissioners." He then gives a general statement of the circumstances (already related) of the Colony, and adds—

"The number of persons whom I sent out at my own expense, last year, on board the Myro brig, amounted only to thirty-nine (chiefly White people), though I made provision for fifty, in order to assist in supporting the settlement. Of these, twelve died of fevers and one by a wound, four were left at the Cape de Verd Islands, and two returned; so that only twenty remain there. But though I have failed in doing so much good as I wished and intended, yet I have the satisfaction to find that the settlement has been saved by this exertion.

"I have received no regular return of the people remaining at the settlement; for they have been so much dispersed into the neighbourhood, that sometimes there were not above forty persons left; but when the Myro

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arrived, they returned, to the amount of about one hundred and thirty.

"The master of the Myro was persuaded by the Settlers to re-purchase the whole settlement, with some expense in presents to Naimbanna, king of Robanna, who did not sign the former agreement, and would have taken possession of the ceded land on the death of King Tom, an inferior chief: but the King has now signed an agreement for himself and his heirs for ever; and King Tom's successors, and other chiefs, have also signed the same agreement: so that I hope it is now amply secured, and may prove hereafter a very useful settlement to the trade and manufactures of this kingdom, if some further timely expense and attention be bestowed upon it; for I believe it to be the most eligible spot for an European settlement on the whole coast of Africa.

"If their Lordships should require a more particular account of the settlement, I will do myself the honour to transmit to you copies of two letters, which I wrote for the information of some gentlemen at Philadelphia and New York, who were desirous of finding a settlement for about two thousand free Negroes now in America.

"With great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

Two other letters, likewise addressed to Mr. Steele, shew that Granville was now beginning to extend his views to the formation of a Company of Merchants, for the purposes of a free trade with the new colony. In the first letter, he gives an account, for the information of the Lords of the Treasury, of a dispute that had arisen at Sierra Leone between the Settlers and Captain N——, the master of a Liverpool slave-ship; which, he says, occasioned

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"a cruel plot, in revenge, between the slave-traders and some Native savages, the partners of their iniquitous traffic, to cut off and destroy the settlement." After partly exculpating the Settlers, he continues,—

"Though the apprehended event would be an outrage so enormously wicked and daring, that we should scarcely conceive that a body of European traders (British and French) could be so utterly abandoned and profligate as to promote it; yet it is not entirely incredible, if we consider that the Slave Trade has initiated, and gradually produced, the most consummate iniquity and hardness of heart, in many known instances."

"I must further beg leave to remark, that the whole proceeding of the Settlers, on this occasion, proves that they really maintained some reasonable form of government among them, as well as an efficient civil power to support it *.

"It is probable that the Martha, of Liverpool, Captain N——n, and several other slave-ships, which were then at Sierra Leone, are by this time returned to Liverpool; and therefore I humbly submit whether it may not be right that Captain N——n should be summoned to give an account of the transaction.

"I am aware that the Settlers will be roundly charged

* The dispute arose from Captain N——'s refusal to pay a demand made for the burial of a sailor, and for three days' previous attendance on him. Captain N—— had afterwards seized a free man, and confined him in irons for three days; and the Settlers, in return, seized the Captain, and detained him until he consented to pay a fine agreeably to their estimation of the injury committed by him.

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with being a set of mere robbers and banditti, dangerous to the existence of the neighbouring slave-factories;—for such was the language of a letter which I saw about twelve months ago, from an agent at one of the slave-factories to his employers; though the occasion itself, on which he wrote, proved that the Settlers, as a body, had behaved with the utmost propriety, in detecting and delivering up to the factors five individuals of their settlement, who had been guilty of robbing a storehouse at the said factory: but the factors, on their part, shewed neither mercy nor prudence, for they sold the poor culprits to the French traders into slavery for life, whereby they have rendered themselves liable to all the severe penalties above mentioned."

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

G. S. to the same.

[EXTRACT.]

"Sir, "23d July, 1789.

"Yesterday I received letters from the new settlement at Sierra Leone, copies of which I have enclosed. Though I have great pleasure to find that the combination of the slave-traders to cut off the settlement, as mentioned in my last, has not yet had any bad effect, yet my satisfaction is much allayed by further accounts of the Settlers having arrested and fined another slave-trader, who had plundered a vessel not belonging to their settlement, but coming from Robanna: but as this restitution of property was undertaken publicly and openly, on a formal requisition of the owner of the vessel to the Governor for justice, I hope their manifest intention to render the justice required will be considered as a reason for excusing the excess they have ignorantly been guilty of, in pursuing the slave-captain, and arresting him at the *Isles des Los*,

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far beyond the bounds of their authority. They, however, have lost six men, by the stratagem of this slave-captain, and he will probably attempt to sell them into slavery; so that the interference of Government may be necessary, to compel the slave-dealers to restore them. The messenger who brought the letters from Sierra Leone, is himself one of the Settlers, a White man, who wishes to return again to the settlement, and is tolerably intelligent; so that, if you should desire to make any inquiries of him respecting the state of the country and climate, I will order him to attend you.

"The people are earnestly desirous to obtain a sloop, to trade up the rivers and on the coast, for rice, and other productions of the country that are fair articles of lawful commerce, having plenty of seamen to man more vessels than one; and a small vessel is equally wanted, to keep up a communication with the settlement. There are, likewise, several of the Settlers in town upon my hands, who are very desirous to return; and many industrious persons, who cannot find employment here, would probably join them, if there was an opportunity of passage: for, as the Settlers have burnt down and cleared a great deal of the thick forest about the settlement, there will not be so much risque of life as when they first arrived. If, therefore, two small vessels (any of those that are frequently forfeited at the out-ports for smuggling) could be granted for these purposes, I would endeavour to prevail on a *few respectable merchants in the City* to undertake the charge of them, and to appoint proper masters, responsible, and under their direction *as a public Board or Company;* in which case they will be more easily induced to risque the advance of their own money, to form a joint stock for freighting the said vessels properly, in order to commence an honourable free trade, from the profits of which the

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expenses of victualling and keeping the vessels in repair should be first defrayed, before any division of profit is made.

"This I conceive to be a better mode of securing the maintenance of the vessels, in order to keep up a constant trade and communion with the settlement, than if the vessels were entrusted to the management of the Settlers themselves.

"I am, with great respect, Sir," &c. &c.

While this investigation was going on, Mr. Sharp received other interesting inquiries regarding the state of the colony at Sierra Leone. They came from one of the earliest advocates for the abolition of slavery in America: the following are extracts from his letter:—

The Rev. Samuel Hopkins, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"Sir, "Newport, January 15, 1789.

"I am the Pastor of the first Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode Island.....When I removed to this town, my attention was soon turned to the Slave Trade, which had long been carried on here, and was still continued. It appeared to me wholly unjustifiable, and exceeding inhumane and cruel: and I thought I was obliged in duty to condemn it in public, and to preach against it. I had better success than I expected:....but this procured to me many enemies, who were increased when I proceeded, as I soon did, to condemn the holding those Africans in Slavery, who were brought here by the iniquitous Slave Trade.

"I was, so far as I then knew, almost alone in my opposition to this trade, and the slavery of the Africans:

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but have since read with great satisfaction your writings on that subject, some of which were published, I believe, before the time above mentioned. And I have had the pleasure of finding a conviction of the evil of this practice to spread and prevail in America; and two respectable Societies are formed, in New York and Philadelphia, with a view to promote the abolition of the slavery of Africans."

"In the commonwealth of the Massachusetts, all the Africans are freed by their constitution; and many have obtained their freedom in this State: and all are born free, by a particular law of this State, who have been born since March 1784, and all that shall be born hereafter. But the circumstances of the Freed Blacks are in many respects unhappy, while they live here among the Whites; as the latter look down upon the former, and are disposed to treat them as *underlings*, and deny them the advantages of education and employment, &c. which tends to depress their minds, and prevent their obtaining a comfortable living, and involves them in many other disadvantages. This, and other considerations, have led many of them to desire to return to Africa, and settle there among their equals and brethren, and in a country and climate more natural to them than this. Particularly, there are a number of religious Blacks, with whom I am acquainted, who wish to be formed into a distinct church, or religious society; and to have a Black appointed to be their pastor (and there is one at least who is thought to be qualified for that office); and then to go, with all the Blacks who shall be willing to move with them, to Africa, and settle on lands which they think may be obtained of some of the nations there, from whom some of them were taken, and whose language they retain; and there maintain the profession and practice of Christianity, and spread the

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knowledge of it among the Africans, as far as they shall have opportunity: at the same time cultivating their lands, and introducing into that hitherto-uncivilised country the arts of husbandry, building mills and houses, and other mechanic arts, and raising tobacco, coffee, cotton, indigo, &c., for exportation as well as for their own use."

"This plan I have had in view for some years, and have wished and attempted to promote it. But no way has yet been opened in America to carry it into execution, there being no means yet found to defray the charge of sending a vessel to Africa, with a number of Blacks, to find out and procure the most convenient place for such a settlement.

"In the mean time, we have, to our great joy, been informed that such a plan has been projected and executed in England. We were assured, that several ships, with a considerable number of Blacks, sailed from England for Africa, in February 1787, with a design to make a settlement on the windward coast. We have been earnestly waiting for, and expecting, particular authentic information of the success of this expedition, and the place and circumstances of the settlement: but have not received any to this day. It is, indeed, reported from Africa, by way of the West Indies, that those Blacks have arrived there from England; and that a tract of land, twenty miles square, has been procured for them, near the mouth of the river Sierra Leone, and that the settlement is going on. But we have contradictory reports of the success of it.

"All this, Sir, is a lengthy introduction to the following request,—That you would please to inform me, Whether such a tract of land is procured, and on what conditions? Whether the Blacks who settle on it have the fee of the land? Under what Government they are;

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whether British, or their own, by a particular civil constitution formed for them, to be executed by themselves, or some English gentlemen who do for that end reside among them? Whether there is any provision made to maintain and propagate religious knowledge among them, and others who may live in their neighbourhood? Whether the Settlers have behaved well, and prospered, since they began; and what progress they have made? Finally, Whether the Blacks in New England, who have been educated and habituated to industry and labour, either on lands or as mechanics, and are hereby prepared to bring forward such a settlement better, I believe, than any other Blacks that can be found—whether *these Blacks* can have any part of those lands to settle themselves upon, and on what terms; and what encouragement and assistance might they probably have?

"I am, Sir," &c. &c.

In the reply to this letter will be found the further progress of the settlement.

G. S. to the Rev. Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Newport, Rhode Island.

"Reverend Sir, "Leadenhall Street, 25th July, 1789.

"Some little time after your letter came to my hands, I received an account respecting the new settlement at Sierra Leone, so very discouraging, that I began to be doubtful whether I ought to communicate to you the same invitation for the Blacks in America to go to Sierra Leone, which I had sent some time before to Philadelphia and New York. I received such alarming intelligence of a conspiracy, stirred up by the slave-traders to cut off the settlement, that I began to give it up for lost. It is but a few days ago (the 22d instant) that these fears have

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been removed, by the arrival of one of the Settlers, with letters from the Governor and several other persons in the settlement.

"The messenger was sent on purpose with these letters, and had no other means of coming hither than by going in a slave-ship round by the West Indies. By these letters I find, that, contrary to my fears, their enemies have not dared to meddle with the Settlers; and that they are very well united, and had punished two different captains of slave-ships for ill behaviour, by fine and imprisonment, which occasioned the late combination against them. But their numbers did not exceed one hundred and twenty people, men, women, and children, altogether. However, I am informed, that since those letters were written, some more of the Settlers, who had been dispersed in the neighbourhood, were returned, and that they are in all about two hundred people.

"All the White people whom I sent out last year, to assist in supporting the settlement, have been wicked enough to go into the service of the Slave Trade at the neighbouring factories, having been enticed away, I suppose, by high wages; but the people who remained in the settlement have carefully adhered to their promise, not to permit the iniquity of *slave-dealing in the Province of Freedom*; so that, though they have not kept up strictly to other Regulations which I proposed for them, yet, in this most essential point, they deserve commendation. I shall send you, by the first ship, copies of the Regulations which I wished to establish there.

"As the settlement has been lately re-purchased of King Naimbanna, the Settlers, I think, must now submit to receive and accommodate all new comers with equal lots of land, gratis, until they amount at least to six hundred householders, notwithstanding the limitation of time

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in the Regulations; so that I hope I may venture to assert, that whatever people from America will engage to submit to the terms of the Regulations, and the English Government, (which must be perfectly free, whilst frank-pledge and a universal militia are maintained), will be admitted to free lots, even if they amount to more than double that number, provided that *they go all at one time*, and shew this letter, or a copy of it, to the Governor and Assembly of Settlers in the Province of Freedom.

"In addition to the accounts which I had before received, the Settlers, who brought me the last letters, inform me that the land is very good, and the neighbouring Natives very civil; and that King Naimbanna, a very reverend old man, whose town is just beyond the borders of the settlement, is particularly kind to them. These accounts are corroborated by three other Settlers, who have been here some time, and are all very anxious to get back again as soon as they can. But I am sorry to inform you, that all my expense and endeavours to procure a *live stock of cattle*, have been rendered abortive by the imprudence of the Captain with whom I contracted to procure it; for, instead of delivering the cattle at the settlement, as he ought to have done, he only gave *goods* to the *value* of a certain number of cattle, and obtained a certificate from the Settlers that they had received *the value of so much cattle*, though they have no means of transporting any to the settlement; and, therefore, if any people are sent from America, it will be right to make some little reserve of goods, or dollars, to purchase a few *lean, breeding cattle* on the African coast, for their *live stock*, as they will very soon increase, because there is plenty of grass; and cattle thrive exceedingly well in most parts of the African coast, where any attention is paid to them.

"I am, with sincere esteem and respect,

"Rev. Sir," &c. &c.

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The fresh instances of base conduct in those who deserted the cause of his benevolent undertaking, and resorted to the infamous traffic of the slave-dealers, made a deep impression on Mr. Sharp's mind.

G. S., in reply, to the worthy Inhabitants of Granville Town, in the Province of Freedom, Sierra Leone.*

" Dear Friends, " 11th November, 1789.

" On the 23d July last I received, by the hands of Thomas Malady, letters from your chief magistrate, Mr. Lucas, and a letter from Mrs. Lucas in the name of the ladies of Sierra Leone; and also letters from Messrs. James Reid, John Cambridge, and John Homan; to all of whom I request you to return my thanks.

" It gives me great concern to find, by these letters, that Mr. Tacitus, Captain Estwick, and Mr. Collins, have deserted the Province of Freedom, in order to enter into the Slave Trade. By the laws of the settlement, they have forfeited, of course, every right and claim they had to any share in it; and I hope you will be careful that none of them be ever permitted to return, without a very earnest acknowledgment of repentance.

" After having, with indefatigable labour, for above twenty-two years, and at a great expense, asserted and maintained the glorious principles and foundations of the English Law (and having thereby, through the blessing and providence of God, prevented slavery from taking root in England)—and after having also obtained from

* It appears by this address, that the name of *Granville Town* had been given to the *first* settlement, as well as to that which was afterwards formed with the assistance of Mr. Falconbridge.

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Government a tacit permission to plant the same noble privileges even in Africa itself, that the new settlement might be *truly* deemed a *Province of Freedom;* — after such a series of labour and expense, as well as of providential success, (the occasion obliges me to repeat it,) your sincere friend, who hopes for your happy and profitable establishment, must necesarily be exceedingly jealous of any deviation from the law of natural right and justice in the Province of Freedom; as men have no right, without these, even to hope for God's blessing. Let me, therefore, exhort you to preserve *exact discipline in your militia,* and a *regular rotation of watch and guard service,* that you may be able to arrest and punish *every refractory member* of your community; and that you hold frequent courts, to assert the *laws of common right and justice,* and more especially against every person who shall have presumed to sell a slave on shore within the bounds of the settlement, or to retain any person as such therein. *Nevertheless, be courteous and kind to all strangers that come to the settlement, even though you know them to be slave-dealers or slave-holders, provided they do not offend your laws during their stay. What is done beyond your boundaries you cannot help or prevent, except the offenders belong to your community; neither must you interfere with others in the least, except by kind and friendly warnings of God's impending vengeance against oppressors; and this only when you have any fair opportunities of mentioning the subject, without giving personal offence.* But with respect to your late members, Messrs. Tacitus, Estwick, and Collins, and *more especially Mr. Henry Demane* (who, I am informed, is now a great man on the Bulam shore, and *a dealer in Slaves!*), warn them, from me, of the horrors and remorse which must one day seize those authors and abettors of oppression who

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do not save themselves by a timely repentance. Remind Mr. Henry Demane of *his own feelings* under the *horrors of slavery*, when he turned his face to the mast of the ship into which he was trepanned by his wicked master, and formed a resolution, as he afterwards confessed, to jump overboard that very night, rather than submit to a *temporary slavery* for life; but he is now in danger of *eternal slavery!*—Remind him, also, of the joy he felt when he saw two men, sent with a writ of Habeas Corpus, so exactly in time (most providentially) to rescue him, that a single minute later (as the anchor was up, and the ship under weigh from her last station, the *Downs*) must have rendered his recovery impossible! Tell him I have ample reason to be convinced that his escape was by a real interposition of God's providence; because I once before saved another Negro man (many years ago) from on board a ship, also in the Downs, under the same critical circumstances,—the anchor being up, and the ship ready to sail .....Many other Negroes also I have saved, under such alarming circumstances of danger, that my poor weak endeavours could not warrant even the least hope of success; which must therefore be attributed to the Divine mercy alone, for it would be blind folly indeed to suppose that such a succession of improbable facts should be the effect only of accident or chance! Tell him, and also Messrs Tacitus, Estwick, and Collins, when you have opportunity of seeing them, that the practices of *slave-dealing* and *slave-holding* are inimical to *the whole species of man*, by subverting charity, equity, and every social and virtuous principle, on which the peace and happiness of mankind depend; so that they may fairly be deemed *unnatural crimes*, and ought to be ranked with the horrible unnatural depravity of *man devouring man*. We have the highest authority for this estimation, because the practices of

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oppressors were actually compared in holy Scripture to the cruel rage of cannibals, 'who pluck off their skins from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who also eat the flesh of my people, and flay their skin from off them; and they break their bones and chop them in pieces as for the pot, and as flesh within the cauldron.' (Micah iii. 3.)

"I will use my best endeavour to recover the six men that were carried off by Captain W——, as well as to punish the captain for the outrage. However, I hope you will in future be more careful not to interfere in the least with any matter beyond the bounds of your territory; and be sure to maintain a friendly communication with all the neighbouring factories, and more especially with those that are most near, as the King of Robanna's people, Bance Island, &c.; and avoid all disputes with masters of ships, about the fees for anchorage and watering. . . . . I have no authority to interfere, but am only anxious that you may avoid disputes, and submit to lose your right in this matter, rather than contend for it, if it be refused. It is a point of public consequence, which Government will probably take into consideration in due time.—James Crane and George Stephenson, who, with two others of your Settlers (Banks and Chilcot), were clandestinely carried off by Captain Campbell, and narrowly escaped being sold by him at Martinico, are now here, with their wives, and hope to find an opportunity soon of returning: at present they are supported at my expense. Chilcot, who was also on my list, has behaved very ill, so that I think it would be dangerous to the welfare of the settlement to permit so desperate a man to return to the *Province of Freedom*; where, if your Public Assembly acts consistently with duty, men must be free from *vice* as well as *slavery*.—Be pleased to acquaint Mrs. Lucas, and the ladies of the settlement, that I have made earnest inquiry

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after the Rev. Mr. Frazer, and have not yet been able to find where he is; but as soon as I do, I will take care to procure a proper register of all the marriages.

"I had great disappointment by Captain Taylor's not fulfilling his contract for supplying *live cattle*, and still more by your giving him a certificate of your having received from him goods to the value of forty-seven bullocks, for which I thought myself obliged to pay him. Government has reimbursed the money, and paid me also for the presents made to King Naimbanna for the repurchase of the land, according to your certificate; and I have deducted from these allowances of Government the 200*l.* which I before received to procure cattle, and received only the balance. Thus you have lost the opportunity of having cattle, by your imprudence in giving a certificate of having received *goods instead of cattle.*

"I am exerting myself as much as possible, to engage several respectable merchants and gentlemen to form a *Company*, in order to carry on an *honourable trade* with the coast of Africa; and I have at last great hopes of success.

"With sincere wishes and prayers for your welfare and happiness, your affectionate friend," &c. &c.

In conformity with the statement at the conclusion of this letter, Mr. Sharp, in the beginning of the following year (1790), printed a public notice of his proposal for the formation of the intended Company (of St. George's Bay), in a short Account of the "*Free English Territory in Africa;*" giving a description of the district purchased by the English Government, and its natural advantages, and also of the nature of the purchase, "by which," he says,

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"all the *free customs and rights of the English Common Law* must of course immediately take place there, and become (as in England) the most valuable inheritance of the free Settlers." But "the present Settlers" he describes as unable, from their character and insufficient numbers, to avail themselves of the advantages of the territory.

"These poor people," he continues, "are in want of many necessaries, and have no religious instruction. They earnestly required, in their last letters, that some respectable merchants or factors might be prevailed on to settle among them, in order to keep open a constant communication with England by their trade, which, they think, will be a means of relieving their wants.

"A proposal," he adds, "has therefore been made to form a Company of Merchants for the trade of Sierra Leona; and several respectable gentlemen have given their names as subscribers, to promote a measure which may hereafter prove of great national importance to the manufactories and other trading interests of this kingdom *."

* In a note to this little work are the following anecdotes *(from Purchas's Voyages)*:—

"On the south of the bay (of Sierra Leone) is high land, full of trees even to the sea-side, having divers coves, &c. &c. On the farther side of the fourth cove is the watering-place, of excellent water, continually running; at which place, on the rocks, we found the names of *divers Englishmen*, which had been there: amongst the rest, of *Sir Francis Drake*, which had been there seven-and-twenty years before (viz. in 1580);

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Having succeeded in recommending his proposal to the attention of the City, he began without delay to use his utmost efforts for obtaining a Charter, and to solicit the assistance of the Government in procuring vessels for the Company's first expedition. It will be no surprise to find, at such a moment, the friendly offices of him who was destined to be the future vindicator, in the British Senate, of the cause of African freedom.

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

"My dear Sir, "Quarter past Two o'clock, Thursday.

"I am sorry I did not write to you the other day. I thought, though now I find myself mistaken, that Mr. F——— had perfectly understood me. What I wished him to tell you was, that Mr. Secretary Grenville said, his Majesty, by his prerogative, could grant the St. George's Bay Company the desired exemption from that obligation which subjects a man's whole property to the Bankrupt Laws, &c.; and therefore I suggested, that you should immediately draw up a Memorial or Petition to his Majesty, begging this exemption, and transmit it either directly to Mr. Grenville, or to me for the purpose of being conveyed to him.

"With sincere esteem and regard," &c. &c.

"W. WILBERFORCE."

Thomas Candish, Captain Lister, with others."—"And Ogilby also testifies, that 'on the island in the river of Serre Lions, the English possessed a small fort, erected for the more secure managing of their trade, which, in the year 1664, the 18th of December, the Dutch, under the conduct of the Admiral De Rutter, with a fleet, without reason surprised and took," &c. p. 376.

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From the same to the same.

"I have been speaking at the Treasury respecting the vessels in the condemned hold. I shall be much obliged to you if you will favour me with the names of the particular vessels on which you have an eye.

"I am, my dear Sir," &c. &c.

"Treasury, Twelve o'clock, 25th January, 1790."

From the same to the same.

"Dear Sir,

"The vessel in the condemned hold must be sold at a public sale: half the proceeds go to the Rigging Office, half to the King. If you think it worth while, (the whole sum for which the vessel will sell being about 140*l.*), I think it probable I may be able to get the Treasury to make a present of their half; and, if you will intimate your wishes to that effect, I will endeavour to expedite the sale of the vessel. I understand it is in high order and equipment.

"Very truly yours," &c. &c.

G. S. to William Wilberforce, Esq.

"Dear Sir,

"The Lapwing, in the condemned hold, (about forty tons burthen), I am informed, will be completely suitable to be stationed at St. George's Bay, for the coasting traffic; and I earnestly solicit your application to the Treasury, to obtain a grant of the King's half of her value, for the St. George's Bay Company.

"There is also a larger vessel in the condemned hold, named the *Hope*, of about one hundred tons burthen, which would be big enough, on our first trial of the trade, for the ship of communication between England and the new

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African territory; so that the two vessels together will completely set us up as to shipping for the present. But the Hope is so rigged, that, by the rules of the Custom-house, she must be broken up and pulled to pieces.

"However, as she would be much more valuable to the Company when properly rigged as a brig; and as she has spars, sails, &c. that could, at a small expense, be converted into a lawful form of rigging; perhaps, if she should be advertised for public sale, and the Company's agent should be the highest bidder, she might be saved from being broke up, on our engaging to alter the construction to a legal form."

G. S. to the same.

"Dear Sir, "February 13, 1790.

"I send herewith a few printed copies of the 'Description of St. George's Bay,' and beg leave to acquaint you, that the *New Company* purposes to meet on Wednesday next, at the King's Head in the Poultry, at twelve precisely; and if you should think proper to honour us with your name as a subscriber, we shall be heartily glad if you will be pleased to assist us at our meeting, and propose such of your friends as you think would approve of being included in the Corporation.

"The broker, employed for the Company, was the highest bidder at the Custom-house sale yesterday, for the Lapwing sloop. He thought it right to bid to 186*l.*, which sum I have paid him.

"It is of great importance to the safety of the New Settlement, that the *Charter of Incorporation* should be expedited as soon as possible."

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TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Memorial of Granville Sharp, Citizen of London, in Behalf of himself and Others.

" HUMBLY SHEWETH,

" That the Black poor, and others, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, who settled on the land lately purchased by your Majesty for their use at Sierra Leona, consisting, by the last account, of about two hundred persons, men, women, and children, are so extremely poor, that they cannot effectually avail themselves of the extraordinary natural advantages of that fruitful and healthy district without some further aid; and therefore they have earnestly requested, in their last letters, that some merchants or factors might be induced to settle among them, in order to keep up a constant communication between England and the new English territory in Africa, whereby they hope to procure the necessary aid and assistance.

" That your Memorialist, in consequence of this request, has solicited and obtained promises from several respectable gentlemen and merchants of London, that they will form themselves into a Company, and advance their respective shares and proportions of money, to enable them to send proper factors and agents to St. George's Bay, the principal harbour of the new English territory, in order to promote and carry on the trade of the settlement in British manufactures with the Natives of the neighbouring coast and rivers in Africa, provided your Majesty will be pleased to grant them a Charter of Incorporation," &c. &c. &c.

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CHAP. X.

It was in the midst of such zealous and anxious efforts, that, in the month of April 1790, news arrived of the calamity mentioned in the previous narrative, regarding the total dispersion of the Settlers and the burning of their town. Mr. Sharp immediately made a representation of the outrage to our Government, and, being admitted to an interview with the Minister, was directed by him to procure information as to the best means of affording relief. This charge was speedily executed.

G. S. to the Right Honourable William Pitt, &c. &c. Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer.

[EXTRACT.]

" Right Hon. Sir, " Leadenhall Street, 26th April, 1790.

" Since I had the honour of representing to you the deplorable situation of the poor people that were lately compelled to evacuate the new settlement at Sierra Leona, I have carefully consulted several friends on the best means of affording them some immediate temporary relief at the least possible expense.

" If a vessel was to be chartered on purpose for the voyage, the charges would be very heavy, and time also would be lost in preparation. But as I have lately purchased, through the favour of Government, a small

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vessel, the Lapwing, of thirty-four tons, intended for the *St. George's Bay Company*, to be employed in the service of their factory in that Bay, in case they should succeed in their application for a Charter; and as they have already engaged a proper master for the said vessel, and a principal factor (both acquainted with the coast), and also some proper assistants, whose salaries are already commenced, it will occasion very little more expense to them to employ this little establishment in carrying out, and dispensing to the best advantage among the poor people, whatever sum Government shall think proper to allow them; and a much less sum in this way will be necessary, as the Company take upon themselves all the expenses of their own people. It is conceived that, with the assistance of the Company, a sufficient supply, for the present, of necessaries, clothing, and provisions, from hence, and some few articles of traffic to barter for fresh provisions and other necessaries on the spot, may be procured at the expense of *three hundred* pounds, provided the Government will, in addition, be pleased to order a small armed schooner, or sloop (any that are now actually fitted for his Majesty's service), commanded by a lieutenant of the Navy, to proceed immediately with the Lapwing, for the protection of the poor people, and to keep them together; because the agents at Bance Island profess that it is the interest of their employers that the Settlers should all be dispersed, though these gentlemen themselves have always been very obliging, and have frequently informed me of opportunities of writing by their vessels.

"The sending out an armed vessel that is already fitted and copper-sheathed, will not, I conceive, occasion any great additional expense; but it is certainly worthy the consideration of Government, whether it may not be rather more proper to send out at once a stout sloop of war, with

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a sufficient number of marines, to retake possession of the settlement, and restore the Settlers to their houses and cultivated lots of land, lest any foreign power should in the mean time purchase the same land as being now evacuated; for there is not really any spot equally valuable on the whole coast of Africa. If possession is not speedily regained, the Native Chiefs will conceive that the rights of the Crown of Great Britain are superseded by the evacuation; and the French, who have still, it seems, a factory in the neighbourhood, will probably be tempted to purchase the land; for I have just received a very sensible pamphlet from the author, Doctor Lanthenas, an eminent physician at Paris, wherein he strongly recommends to the French Nation the immediate establishment of some free settlement on the coast of Africa, '*like to that*,' he expressly says, '*of the English at Sierra Leone*.'

"The information acquired for the gentlemen associated to promote discoveries in the internal parts of Africa, clearly proves that the establishment of a caravan from the New Settlement at Sierra Leona to Gongee (about six or seven hundred miles distant) would open to us a most valuable internal trade, which at present supports with profit the expense of caravans which travel three thousand miles under great disadvantage; so that the saving and profit of the proposed intercourse would certainly be very great.

"With sincere respect and esteem,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

The fate of the settlement and the Settlers was now in suspense; and, after nearly two months of anxious expectation, Granville renewed his entreaties for their protection.

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G. S. to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

" Right Hon. Sir, " Leadenhall Street, June 10, 1790.

" Ever since I had the honour of your permission to address you, in April last, on behalf of the poor Settlers at Sierra Leona, I have waited for your answer with earnest anxiety, though without much hope of soon receiving it, being well aware that your whole time of late must necessarily have been employed in affairs of the most pressing national importance. But it is, nevertheless, my duty to inform you, that I have received a letter from Mr. Abraham Ashmore, the present elected Governor of the Settlers, dated 13th January last (a copy of which I have the honour to enclose), whereby it appears that the Natives have entirely destroyed all the houses and buildings in the new settlement, and that the poor Settlers were removed from place to place, at the will of the agent of the slave factory at Bance Island.

" Since the date of that letter, however, I have been informed that they have obtained some land from one of the African Chiefs, about nine miles above Bance Island, in the same river, with leave to build houses; that about seventy of them still persisted in keeping together, though much pains had been taken to separate them; that about eight or ten of them, being artificers, were employed at Bance Island; that several more of them were at Robanna, a town adjoining to the settlement, under King Naimbanna, and that the rest were dispersed on the coast—so that I have no doubt of their re-assembling as soon as their land can be recovered. But if they are neglected much longer, they must perish and fall into the snares of their enemies, the neighbouring *slave-dealers*, by whose machinations their misfortunes have been occasioned, and the

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advantage of opening a free and honest trade with the internal parts of Africa (as recommended in the proceedings of the Association for promoting Discoveries there, p. 205) will be irrecoverably lost; because it is not probable that ever such an opportunity may offer again of having above one hundred people, inured to that climate and ready on the spot, to adopt and support the free laws of British Government in the new African territory.

"Captain Savage, of his Majesty's ship Pomona, can give full information of the causes which excited the Natives to destroy the settlement, as well as of the very great value and importance of the spot that was purchased, and of the facility of defending it, of which, it seems, he has made very ample observations. His information, therefore, will afford just grounds for Government to proceed upon, in the reinstatement of the poor people, who by good behaviour in the management of their little government, their trade, and their cultivation, which was just beginning to be in a promising state of improvement, has been highly spoken of by him.

"If it should appear that the Natives have been justly offended by the burning of their town (which was not intended by Captain Savage), and that the retaliation of burning the settlement was ordered by a public palaver or assembly of Native Chiefs, it will not be right to recover the land by force, but by persuasion in another palaver;—to state the double purchase of the land by the King of Great Britain, and, consequently, the justice of restoring it to him, and of reinstating his subjects in their former possessions; also the advantages that will arise to the whole country, by an honest trade with the St. George's Bay Company, in the natural productions of their soil. Such a representation, accompanied with a few presents to the Chiefs, as at first, to the amount of about 50*l.* or

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80*l.* value, will probably obtain their general consent to a peaceable re-establishment of the settlement.

"I have received a letter from Paris informing me of two French gentlemen, who are desirous to lay out from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.* sterling in cultivating a plantation at Sierra Leone; and, if they can procure land under the British Government, they promise to promote the scheme of cultivating with free people, and to observe all the laws of this realm, as proposed in the Regulations for the new settlement. This proposal, under a proper stipulation with the St. George's Bay Company, not to interfere in their general trade, might form a proper example for future cultivators, that may be highly advantageous to the Company, as well as to the kingdom in general.

"With sincere esteem and respect,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

Soon after writing the above, Mr. Sharp, having ascertained the real cause of the destruction of the settlement by the Natives*, thought himself bound again to communicate to Mr. Pitt the information he had received, and (after justifying Captain Savage, as having disapproved of what had been done by the officers of his ship) to retract altogether "the proposal of *recovering the land by force*,"

"As retaliation is the ordinary law of uncivilized nations, and particularly on the coast of Africa: notwithstanding that our Government has a clear right to do so by the absolute sale and cession of twenty square miles of land by the Natives to the King of Great Britain; but an effectual recovery and possession may be much more

* See vol. ii. p. 22.

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easily gained by a *re-purchase*, with the consent of all the neighbouring Chiefs, for a very trifling sum laid out in English manufactures, to be disposed of in presents—viz. probably less than 100*l.* even for an increase of extent;—which conciliating means will best suit the intended purpose of promoting an internal trade with the Natives for the natural productions of their soil—a trade that will probably become of the first importance to the manufactories of Great Britain.

"As the proper season for sending out a vessel to that coast is now at hand, I beg leave once more to remind you of my earnest solicitations in behalf of the poor people sent out by Government, that they may not think themselves entirely abandoned and lost.

"With sincere respect and esteem,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

The silence of Mr. Pitt to all these letters forced from Mr. Sharp one more effort, on the 28th of August 1790. In a fourth address to that Minister he repeats the opening sentence of his first, of the 26th April 1790, and recapitulates, with a severe and pointed accuracy, the contents of his several letters: he then continues,—

"And it is now my duty to inform you, that the Members of the St. George's Bay Company held a general meeting yesterday, and, having considered the deplorable state of the poor Settlers at Sierra Leone, agreed to send out the little *Lapwing* as soon as possible, with a supply of clothing, provisions, &c. to the amount of about 150*l.* (besides the expense of the outfit, and the wages and provisions for their agents and seamen, which will cost them more than three times as much); but as they have

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not yet obtained a charter to secure them from being injured in their individual capacity beyond the amount of their subscriptions, I could not prevail on them either to attempt a re-purchase of the settlement, or to join in any farther venture for the purchase of a larger vessel, or brig, to carry out the stores and agents.

"It is, indeed, with great concern that I am obliged to add, that this little supply, now proposed to be sent by the *Lapwing*, though it will be very expensive to the Company, will afford but a small temporary relief to the poor people, and cannot either be effectual towards regaining their land (if no larger vessel is sent), or for their future subsistence; so that all the public advantages which might in time, with a little more encouragement, have been very fairly expected from the settlement, must now be given up, probably for ever. If a Charter, even without any exclusive privileges whatsoever, except that of securing the private fortunes of the members from any demands beyond the amount of their subscription, had been obtained, the Company would probably have subscribed very liberally and amply for the recovery and support of the settlement; but the opposition of the Attorney-General to their very reasonable proposal of a limited Charter without any exclusive privileges, has entirely damped their zeal for promoting this most charitable and beneficial public undertaking; and unless Administration will effectually encourage an application to Parliament for such an unexceptionable Charter, all hopes of farther proceedings must cease.

"I am, with great respect and esteem,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

This last appeal to the Minister's feelings was seconded by an application to Mr. Rose, Secretary

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to the Treasury, reminding him of a "very kind promise," which Granville had personally received from him some time before, "to promote the cause of the distressed Settlers with the Lords Commissioners;" which he adds,—

"The next day, having an opportunity of speaking with Mr. Pitt on the subject, I received directions from him to inquire and report to him the probable expense and best means of sending some temporary relief, which in a day or two afterwards I wrote to himself. I have frequently repeated my applications to Mr. Pitt since that time (as the enclosed copy of my last letter to him will inform you), but without receiving any answer; and, as a Committee of the St. George's Bay Company are to meet next Wednesday, to give orders for the sailing of the Lapwing sloop (at their own expense, with a small temporary relief, much too small to produce any permanent good effects), I think it my duty to avail myself of your former polite and kind offer, and earnestly request that you will now be pleased to solicit the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Treasury Board, for some additional relief to the poor Settlers, which at this time would probably encourage the St. George's Bay Company to take some more effectual steps for the recovery of the settlement.

"Perhaps there may be less difficulty in appropriating to this purpose some small part of the money granted last year by Parliament for the settlements on the coast of Africa; and no part of that money, I am sure, can be so properly or advantageously employed, as in the support of a free British settlement on that coast.

"With great respect," &c. &c.

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Mr. Rose's reply (as he was out of town) merely referred Mr. Sharp to Mr. Steele, or to Mr. Pitt's private Secretary.

In contemplating these circumstances, as related in the last letter to Mr. Pitt, it is difficult to determine, whether our pity is more excited towards the Attorney-General who arrested the progress of a benevolent plan of high importance to the country, or towards the founder of that plan, who perceived himself debarred the aid of those, whose hands were stretched out to protect and support him. The fond expectation of "*a perfect good*," which his benevolence and zeal had conspired to raise, was now at an end. He had been unable to establish "the happiest and the freest government on the earth." He found no hope of relief remaining, except in the association of a Chartered Company, to which he might transfer an attempt surpassing his own individual strength—and the prospect of that relief was suddenly blasted by the opposition of the principal law-officer of the Crown!

The following fragment of a letter is apparently written under strong feelings of disappointed hope.

To the Settlers at Sierra Leone.

"Dear Friends, "Wicken Park, 27th September, 1790.

"In April last I received from Messrs. Anderson, proprietors of Bance Island, the melancholy news of your being compelled to leave the New Settlement; and, near the end of April, I received Mr. Ashmore's letter, dated

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from Bance Island, [illegible]rming the unwelcome news, and informing me of your houses at Granville-town being burnt by the Natives.

"Immediately on the receipt of this news I informed the Right Hon. Mr. Pitt, the King's First Minister, of the circumstances of your distress; and I was directed by him to inquire, and state to him in writing, the best means of sending out some immediate assistance,—which I did three days afterwards, but received no answer, though the Lapwing was then ready for sea.

"I wrote again to him in the beginning of June, and again in July; but the extreme hurry of public business, in preparing for war against the Spaniards, prevented Government from taking any notice of my letters.

"In the beginning of the present month, I received a second letter from Mr. Ashmore *, dated from Par Boson, and representing your distress for want of necessaries; on which I applied again to Mr. Pitt,—but Government has not yet ordered any assistance.

"All last winter I exerted my utmost efforts to form a Company of Merchants, under the title of the St. George's Bay Company, to carry on an honest and honourable trade with Africa, in order to discourage and supersede the detestable traffic in Slaves. This Company now consists of one hundred members, who would have sent you some relief long before this time, if they could have obtained a Royal Charter of Incorporation, to secure the separate property of the several Members from any claims upon them, beyond the amount of their respective subscriptions to the joint stock of the Company. But the desired

* Neither of these letters has been found among Mr. Sharp's papers.

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Charter is not yet obtained, and therefore the Company cannot enter into any such joint expenses as might be sufficient to procure your re-establishment; but have merely ordered a small temporary relief to be sent by the Lapwing, entrusted to the care of the person appointed to be their chief factor, in case a Charter for a trading Company should at last be obtained: and he is not empowered *to give* you the clothing and provisions now sent out, but merely to supply them gradually, in return for such labour and assistance as you may be able to afford him, or for such African goods or produce as you may happen to have by you, of equal value in exchange.

"He will endeavour to treat with King Naimbanna, and King Jammy, and the other Chiefs, for a restoration of your late settlement on the Mountains of Sierra Leone, which, having been twice purchased of them for the King of England, is now undoubtedly become English territory; so that if they delay to restore it, and should presume to deny the fulfilling the covenants they have signed (including their promises of being friendly to the Settlers), they will draw upon themselves a very severe retaliation of vengeance from the King of England, as soon as any of the ships of war can be spared from their present destination. But I hope they will be just and wise, and prevent a war against them, by restoring the purchased land as an act of common justice and right, remembering that the intention of making that settlement was *really* with a view to promote the improvement and welfare of the natives of Africa, as well as for your good and ours; —it being thought the best mode of establishing an honest and honourable trade in the natural productions of the soil of Africa, in return for good English manufactures, and instead of the bloody and wicked trade in their brethren

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the Negro Slaves; for that is an unnatural crime, which, in time, if continued, will surely draw down the vengeance of God on themselves and all the nations that deal with them in that abominable traffic; and perhaps they themselves will at last be conquered, and sent away naked into slavery in retaliation for the multitudes of poor Blacks that they have wickedly sold to the English, Dutch, and French slave-dealers.

"They should also be reminded, that one of the first promoters of the New Settlement was also the first promoter of the freedom of Africans in England, and has spent large sums of money to maintain the natural rights of Black men, on their first coming over from Africa, as well as from the West Indies; so that no Negro or Black man can now be claimed as a slave, in England, or Scotland, or Ireland. Therefore that same *friend to Blacks* thinks he has some right to claim their particular friendship; and that King Naimbanna, and King Jammy, and the other African Chiefs, as being themselves Black men, will favour and promote his endeavours to establish the laws of freedom and natural right in Africa, agreeably to the regulations of the plan intended to have been observed in the New Settlement, as such natural justice will be the most effectual means of promoting their own happiness and welfare."

The following contains many similar sentiments, more accurately and cautiously expressed, probably also with better hopes, as the Charter was now on the eve of being granted to the Sierra Leone Company.—

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To the worthy British Settlers, late Inhabitants of the Territory purchased by the King of Great Britain, in Sierra Leone, called the Province of Freedom.

"Leadenhall Street, London,
22d January, 179[illegible]

"Dear Friends,

"The several accounts I received last year of your misfortunes gave me most sincere concern; and much more so, because it was not in my power, as an individual, to send you any immediate assistance, having already sunk above 1400*l.* of my own private fortune in endeavouring to promote your welfare, partly in sending out settlers and further assistance by the Myra brig in 1788, and partly in assisting poor People of Colour here, who are desirous of going to the settlement, and in supporting several settlers returned from thence; which heavy expenses have swallowed up all that I could possibly spare. My hopes, therefore, of promoting your welfare must now rest in the *St. George's Bay Company*—a number of merchants and gentlemen of the first fortune and credit in London, who have associated to carry on an *honourable trade* with Africa, in such articles only as are the natural produce of the soil, raised or procured by the honest industry of the inhabitants, that the Natives may no longer be tempted to oppress and enslave each other.

"The Company have appointed Mr. Alexander Falconbridge, the bearer of this letter, to be their chief agent; and his brother, Mr. William Falconbridge, to be his assistant. They are strictly enjoined to have no concern whatever in the Slave Trade; to which indeed they are very far from having the least inclination, being both of them sincere friends to the People of Colour, and to the natural and equal rights of men, and lovers also of justice, peace, and quiet; so that you may safely confide in their advice: and be assured that they will do the best in their

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power to make a reconciliation with the Native Chiefs, that they may restore the land *which they absolutely sold to the King of Great Britain and his heirs for ever.*

"The present intention of the British Government is, to invest the general property of the King's land in the care of the St. George's Bay Company, that it may be better protected for the future; and the Company will grant free lots of land to all the Settlers who will engage to support the British Government according to the former Regulations,—provided they will promise not to trade with any other merchants than the agents of the Company, who will either purchase their produce at the market price of the country, or permit them to ship it for England on board the Company's vessels, at a reasonable allowance for freight and the expenses of maintaining the factory; and the Company will supply them with British goods at a moderate profit.

"The Settlers must also resolve to keep perfect order, peace, and quiet, among themselves, by maintaining a constant guard night and day, by rotation of all the males above sixteen years of age; that all offenders against the peace may be immediately seized and imprisoned, and tried by a jury of the Settlers at the next Court: and Courts must be frequently held for the maintenance of justice; for I have received grievous complaints from several individuals among you, concerning the want of due order and justice, and you must attribute the loss of the settlement, in great measure, to that neglect of order and justice, and military discipline, which if you had maintained, and had employed yourselves industriously in forming proper earth-works or trenches round your town, the Natives would not have dared to meddle with you. Your own experience will now sufficiently convince you of the necessity of joining heartily with Mr. Falconbridge,

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in forming such works of defence as he shall think necessary for the safety of the settlement, in case he shall be able to recover the land; and, of course, he will pay you wages, according to the value of labour in that country for whatever time you are employed in the service of the Company.

"Sincerely wishing you success, and that the blessing of God may attend every honest exertion of your industry, (of which I cannot doubt, provided you will sincerely endeavour to maintain his laws of justice and righteousness among you,) I remain your constant friend and humble servant,

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

The foregoing documents have fully shewn the virtuous endeavour of a Christian to establish and uphold *a state of entire social freedom and justice.* Hourly observation of the world forbids us to wonder that his pure views found insuperable obstacles in the adverse interests amidst which he attempted to establish it, as well as in the vices and errors of the very men for whose sake the experiment was made. With men of whatsoever description, casually selected from their kind, hopes of such a nature must have proved equally fallacious; more especially while the experiment was to be supported by the power only of a single hand. Granville, vigilant and resolute, maintained the guard of his enterprise to the last moment of possible safety, and then submitted with humility to his defeat, convinced that he had aimed at an achievement beyond the grasp of mortality.

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His enthusiasm differed in this point from the feverish fervour which too often assumes its name. His *hopes* were frequently eccentric, his *expressions* of them nearly as much so: his *conduct* was that of temper, of prudence, of *rational hope*, and diligent precaution. But although his strong mind perceived the necessity of having recourse to the accessory strength of the Company, which was now formed and incorporated by an Act of Parliament, he must have been more or less than man not to have regretted the demolition of that ideal fabric of happiness, which he had wished to raise for an afflicted portion of mankind. The writer of these Memoirs has witnessed the struggle of his mind on this occasion: yet his memoranda contain no remarks of this nature; and once only on paper such remarks appear to have escaped the fence of his piety and courage, in a letter to a friend whose name is not mentioned; and even then the communication appears less to have been voluntary, than extorted by feelings of personal regard, and an anxious concern for the health of the friend to whom he writes.

"Sir, "Leadenhall Street, London, 5th October, 1791.

"Dr. Lettsom having informed me that you have again expressed a desire to receive from me some accounts respecting the new settlement on the coast of Africa, for the sake of the poor free Blacks in America, it is necessary for me to acquaint you that I long ago, on your first requisition, wrote out for you a very full account of it, which probably never reached your hands. Having afterwards received similar applications from John Jay,

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Esq., in behalf of the Blacks at New York, and from the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, in behalf of the Blacks at Rhode Island, I sent to both these gentlemen copies of what I had written for you, and several copies also of the printed Regulations; so that the free Blacks of America have not wanted information on the subject: but I suppose the accounts they have since heard of the many disadvantages that the poor Settlers have laboured under for want of pecuniary assistance, and their subsequent misfortunes, may probably have prevented any further application from these gentlemen: and the inducements to go thither are still further curtailed (at least I apprehend they will be deemed so in your esteem) by the new Act of Parliament in favour of the Sierra Leone Company; because the community of settlers, though they are now restored to their actual possessions in the settlement, are no longer *proprietors of the whole district* as before, as the land has been granted, since they were driven out, to the *Sierra Leone Company*; so that they can no longer enjoy the privileges of granting land by the free vote of their own Common Council, as before, nor the benefits of their former Agrarian Law, nor the choice of their own Governor and other officers, nor any other circumstances of *perfect freedom* proposed in the *Regulations:* all these privileges are now submitted to the appointment and controul of the Company, and no settler can trade independently of it.

"I am very sure that such restraints cannot accord with your ideas of perfect liberty and justice. But I could not prevent this humiliating change: the settlement must have remained desolate, if I had not thus far submitted to the opinions of the associated subscribers. However, all slavery, and the oppression of involuntary labour, are absolutely prohibited, and the laws of England are to be

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established. I hope to prevail on the Company to bind themselves to reciprocal conditions in trade; to furnish goods at certain fixed profits to all Settlers equally, without respect of persons, and to purchase their produce on equal terms; in order to make amends for the monopoly, and to make it their interest to maintain the mutual terms inviolate.

"To yourself I mention these very disagreeable circumstances with less chagrin and reluctance than I should do to any body else, because I think they must deter you from all thoughts of removing to Africa, which would be attended with a considerable risk of health, as well to yourself as to your amiable and accomplished partner; so that your removal, under the present circumstances, would not be justifiable."

&c. &c.

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CHAP. XI.

THE accomplishment of the Charter put a close to the laborious and unprecedented efforts of an individual, during four years, to support an undertaking of such extraordinary magnitude; and although that individual may naturally be supposed to have remained the most warmly attached of any to an enterprise of which he was the source, he thenceforward only shared in exertions, of the most laudable and arduous nature, with men, whose devotedness to a cause which they conceived to be interesting to humanity and important to religion, through an unremitting course of personal attention, fatigue, and risk, may be thought to merit precedence even in the high distinction so long possessed by England for her virtuous philanthropy.

During the first period of the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company, appear the following:—

MS.—'May 3. Committee of Sierra Leone Company.

'July 13. At twelve o'clock at the London Tavern: chosen Director, with twelve more of the Sierra Leone Company.

'July 14. Committee of Directors at Mr. Williams's."

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In the election of the Company's officers, the compliment, so often paid to Mr. Sharp on other occasions, of placing him in the chair, was here omitted, as the philanthropic object of the settlement had by many been deemed so highly visionary, that it was judged advisable to elect a chairman whose ordinary connections with concerns of more acknowledged substantial foundation might seem to authorise the expectation of success. The person chosen was the late Henry Thornton, Esq.

But although Granville stood thus mingled with the general body, on an equal footing with all, and with the common title only of *Director*, a superior respect, attached to his name, distinguished him among the colonists of Africa. An instance of the influence of *character* will be found in the following anecdotes.—

Naimbanna, the sovereign chief of Sierra Leone, was of a disposition little correspondent to the opinion, which prejudice had impressed on Europeans, of African manners and tempers. He was peaceable and benevolent; desirous of knowledge, and of affording protection to all who were capable of imparting it. The first Settlers at Granville-town opened to his view new prospects of improvement. Among the Negroes who had returned to Sierra Leone, was Elliot, his secretary, who, while in England, had learned to read and write our language, through the customary kindness of Mr. Sharp; and his proficiency in letters excited in Naimbanna a

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great desire of obtaining the advantages of an European education for his sons. It has been seen, by Elliot's letter to Mr. Sharp, that Naimbanna offered to appoint a school, to be placed under his superintendence; and this offer being declined, the King sent one of his sons to France for instruction, and another was placed under a Mandingo teacher, a Mahometan: the eldest son, John Frederick, having resolved to make his way to England for the same purpose, was on the point of concluding an agreement with the master of a slave-vessel for his free passage thither, when the Company's agent, Mr. Falconbridge, arrived at Sierra Leone. Naimbanna, having witnessed that officer's upright and respectable conduct during his stay in the settlement, readily consented to his son's desire of embarking in the Company's ship on her sailing for England, in spite of the strongest remonstrances from the neighbouring Chiefs.

He had made the fullest inquiries into the details of the establishment at Sierra Leone, and was sensibly affected on learning its real motive. The original author and promoter of it appeared to him an object of veneration; and when he consigned his son to the hands of Mr. Falconbridge, he charged him at the same time with a letter addressed to *Granville Sharp*, entreating him that he would in all things direct the education of the young prince.

The following extracts from his letter will show

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the amicable and generous sentiments of an African sovereign.

"It has been told, that these people, the free Settlers from England, would in time drive me by force of arms back in the country, and take my post from me. I have received several accounts, from factories and captains of ships, against the settlement, which I took no notice of, as I conceived it was, in my opinion, spite or envy that they had against their living in this country; but have served the Settlers in any little request they asked of me, and have endeavoured to keep peace between them and my people, and also among themselves, by settling a great many disquiets between them. It was pleasure to do it, as I thought they would become useful to us all in this country, by teaching us things we do not know; and common reason must tell, that the most ignorant people in the world would be glad to see their country made good, if they had idea how it might be done.

"And again, I must let you know, that, if there were no other reason for my wishing for the welfare of the settlement, I should do it, that there might be a stop put to the horrid depredations, that are so often committed in this country by all nations that come here to trade. There are three distant relations of mine now in the West Indies, who were carried away by one Captain Cox, captain of a Danish ship; their names as follows—Corpro, Banna, and Morbour. These were taken out of my river Sierra Leona. I know not how to get them back. I never hurt or deprived any person of their right or property, or withheld from them what is their due; so I only let you know of these lads, that there will be an account taken of them one day or another.

"As to the Settlers, I could only wish that you will

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send me over one worthy of taking the care and command of the place; then you need not be afraid of their prospering in this country. Mr. Falconbridge, during his time out here, I approved much. I ever was partial to the people of Great-Britain, for which cause I have put up with a great deal of insults from them, more than I should from any other country.

"My son, I hope, you will take care of, and let him have his own way in nothing but what you think right yourself."*

Mr. Falconbridge arrived in England with his charge on the 22d of September 1791; and the Directors, moved by the friendly disposition of Naimbanna, adopted immediate measures for procuring for his son those advantages of which he justly entertained hopes from our country. Mr. Sharp's answer will show with what feelings of mind Naimbanna's proposal was received by himself, and with what consequences it was attended.

To King Naimbanna, King of Robanna.

"Sir, "November 11, 1791.

"The extraordinary proof you have been pleased to give of your good opinion and confidence in me, by entrusting your son, by Mr. Falconbridge, to my charge, demands my best endeavours to fulfil your good intentions as amply as possible; and, even if I had not before thought myself under great obligations to you for your kind and very friendly conduct toward the poor Black Settlers at Sierra Leone, whose interest I have had so much at heart,

* Reports of the Sierra Leone Company.

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and who have repeatedly (both in letters to me, and many by word of mouth) acknowledged your continued favour and condescending behaviour toward them, in conversing with them sometimes like a father,—I say, even without all these incitements to a grateful return on my part toward your son, yet his own natural good disposition, modesty, behaviour, and great diligence and application to learning, would alone be sufficient to ensure my esteem and regard for him.

"On his first arrival in London, Henry Thornton, Esq. the Chairman, or chief presiding Director, of the Sierra Leone Company of Merchants, very kindly invited him to his house; and, as Mr. Thornton is a gentleman not less distinguished by his virtue and amiable qualities, than by his ample fortune and rank in life, I thought myself happy that your son should see so good an example.

"Mr. Thornton, and the rest of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, have undertaken the charge of paying a proper tutor for the education of your son. Mr. Thornton recommended the Rev. Mr. Gambier, of ——, in Kent, about forty miles from London, to be entrusted with the charge; but before I consented to entrust your son to his care, I received a very strong testimony of his good character from two English Bishops, not less eminent for their learning, piety, and diligence, than for their high station in the Church of England.

"I shall deliver to Mr. Falconbridge a letter from the Consul-General of the Danish Nation, residing in London, to the Governor-General of the Danish Factory on the African coast, instructing him to make particular inquiries after your three relations, who were stolen, and carried away by a Danish ship. And I purpose to write to you more fully on the subject of the Slave Trade by the next ship.

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"I remain, with great respect and esteem for your worthy character, your humble servant,

"G. S."

The promised letter to King Naimbanna was afterwards sent to Sierra Leone.

Mr. Sharp's MS. Notes contain little mention of the young Naimbanna, except the frequent recording of his name (as in the case of Omai) at different dates, by which he appears to have been diligent in his attendance on him.

This youth was just twenty-nine years of age; and, some time after his arrival, was baptized by the name of *Henry Granville*, Mr. Thornton and Mr. Sharp being his sponsors. The account given of him by two clergymen, who successively superintended his education, is such as demonstrates a disposition every way worthy of cultivation *. In

* "A desire of knowledge was the predominant feature in his character: he would continually urge his instructors to prolong the time of their reading together. He was forward in declaring his obligations to every one who would assist him in the acquisition of useful learning: he would express regret if he had been led into any company where the time had passed away without improvement; and when it happened that he was left entirely to himself, he would employ not less than eight or ten hours of the day in reading. Though the disadvantages arising from the long neglect of his mental faculties were apparent, he showed signs of very good natural sense: he had also a faculty at distinguishing characters; and his mind, as might naturally be expected, was ready to receive impressions from those persons of whom he had conceived a good opinion. He had few advantages of person, but he was uncommonly pleasing in his behaviour, showing much natural courtesy and even

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capacity, he does not appear to have been below the general class of mankind. " He learned, in the space of a year and a half which he passed in

delicacy of manners: he was also of a kind and affectionate disposition. He was quick in all his feelings, and his temper was occasionally warm; some degree of jealousy also entering into his character: in particular, he was indisposed to answer questions put to him by strangers concerning the state of his own country; for he was apt to suspect that they meant to draw comparisons unfavourable to its character; and he would therefore, on such occasions, often turn the conversation, by remarking, that a country so unfavourably circumstanced as Sierra Leone had hitherto been, was not to be supposed capable of having made any attainments worthy of being the subject of conversation in Great Britain."

" The following anecdote will show the extreme sensibility which he felt, when any circumstance arose which touched the honour of his country; and it will also explain the grounds of his peculiar jealousy on this subject:—

" The name of a person having been mentioned in his presence, who was understood by him to have publicly asserted something very degrading to the general character of Africans, he broke out into violent and vindictive language. He was immediately reminded of the Christian duty of forgiving his enemies; upon which he answered nearly in the following words:—'If a man should rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, or try to stab me, I can forgive him; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in slavery in the West Indies, I can forgive him;—but' (added he, rising from his seat with much emotion,) 'if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him.' Being asked why he would not extend his forgiveness to those who took away the character of the people of his country, he answered: 'If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or

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England, to read very fluently, and to write a letter in English without much difficulty. The alteration which, during the same time, took place in his mind, was also very great. The peculiarities which have been ascribed to Africans in general, had evidently subsided. He was deeply impressed with religious principles, and reverence for the Sacred Scriptures. His morals were pure, and he showed at all times a strong abhorrence of profane conversation and every kind of vice *."

Very sanguine hopes were naturally entertained, that the education of the son of an African Chief in in England might be of the greatest assistance in cementing a confidential union between the people of his country and the European colony of freedom;

sell; but, if any one takes away the character of Black people, that man injures Black people all over the world; and when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing which he may not do to Black people ever after. That man, for instance, will beat Black men, and say, *Oh, it is only a Black man, why should not I beat him?* That man will make slaves of Black people; for when he has taken away their character, he will say, *Oh, they are only Black people—why should not I make them slaves?* That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them; and if you ask him, But why do you take away all these people? he will say, *Oh, they are only Black people—they are not like White people—why should not I take them?* That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country.'"—*Report*, 1794.

A similar account is given of him in a letter from Granville Sharp to his brother Dr. Sharp, 23d September, 1791.

* Report, 1794.

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and the young Naimbanna appeared likely, both from his abilities and disposition, to lend the most important aid in introducing the improvements of science, and the comforts of civilization, into Africa.

The dispensations of Providence forbad the continuance of these hopes. The spring of the second year had scarcely arrived, during the progress of his education, when Mr. Sharp received the following note:—

"Thursday, 17th April, 1793.

"Mr. Naimbanna presents his compliments to Mr. Granville Sharp, and is sorry to inform, that letters have been received this morning which mention the death of his very dear father. His son, however, has, in his affliction for his loss, a pleasing hope that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, and that his soul is happy. Mr. Naimbanna takes the first opportunity of mentioning it to his friend Mr. Sharp, because he knows he shall have his tenderest sympathy."

This unfortunate event induced the young Prince to return home. The following month he took leave of his protector, and set out for Robanna.

MS. '18th May. Parted with Mr. Naimbanna 'about three o'clock at Fulham.'

Mr. Naimbanna to Granville Sharp, Esq.
Garden Court, Temple.

"Dear Sir, "Plymouth, 23d May, 1793.

"Since I arrived at Plymouth, I have greatly wished to write you, pursuant to my promise made you before I left London, which I have been prevented from doing by

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my engagement with my kind friends here, all of whom have received me with great pleasure.

"The Naimbanna is ready for sea, and will proceed for Sierra Leone as soon as she can procure her proper papers from the Custom-house, which I hope will be soon. I purpose to write you again on my arrival at Sierra Leone; and assuring you that I feel sensibly your great attention to me, I beg leave to conclude myself,

"Your most sincere friend,

"H. G. NAIMBANNA."

This amiable youth did not reach the abode of his family. Two or three days before the vessel arrived at Sierra Leone, he was seized with illness, and died within a few hours after landing at Freetown. A suspicion arose among his countrymen, that he had been poisoned during his voyage; and a a long palaver was held, which terminated in an entire removal of their apprehensions. Naimbanna's mother, no less alive to the sentiments of regal generosity than her husband or her son, withdrew the charge which had been brought against the captain of the vessel, and, coming herself to Freetown, with expressions of the utmost confidence in the Governor and Council, requested them to take another of her sons under their protection *.

* "According to the information of a servant of the Company, who sailed in the same ship with the young Naimbanna, he had left Plymouth in perfect health; but as soon as he reached a warm climate, he began to feel a slight complaint in his throat, and occasional pains in his head. His mind was at the same time anxious and uneasy, for he was evidently dismayed at the prospect of those difficulties with which he

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expected that he should have to combat after his return. Numberless were the plans which he amused himself with devising, for the purpose of spreading Christianity, and opening the eyes of his rude countrymen; but he seemed constantly to be tortured by the idea that something would obstruct his designs; and the dread of disappointment seemed to press upon him more strongly in proportion as he drew nigh to his native shores. The heat also began to affect him very violently, and a fever ensued, which was attended with delirium. In one of his lucid intervals he desired the person who gave this account, to assist him in making his will, by which he entrusted his property to his brother, for the use of a young child, his son; and he introduced into the will an earnest request that his brother would exert every endeavour to put an end to the Slave Trade. When he reached Sierra Leone he was insensible of every thing that passed, and his life was despaired of. His mother, together with some younger branches of the family, came down to the Governor's house, where he was laid, and, after a few hours' attendance on his dying bed, they saw him breathe his last. The Governor and Council mention, that nothing could exceed the agitation and distress shown by his mother on the event of his death."

"Thus terminated the days of this amiable and enlightened African, from whose exertions, if he had lived, the Company might have expected the most important and extensive services. It may be remarked, however, that, notwithstanding his untimely and much to be lamented death, he has rendered at least one important service to his country, by furnishing a memorable instance of the effect of education on the mind of Africans, and a most encouraging and happy omen in favour of his benighted countrymen."—*Report of the Sierra Leone Company*, 27th *March*, 1794.

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CHAP. XII.

THE history of the colony from the time of these events has been related in the previous narrative. A few of Mr. Sharp's papers refer to it at various periods.

Some time after the barbarous invasion of the settlement by the French, he received a printed apology for the conduct of France, which he thus notices in a letter to Mr. Macaulay, Governor of Sierra Leone.

"I had intended to send you a small printed tract, which was brought to me from France by a Swedish gentleman. It was drawn up and read in a public Committee by Bishop Gregoire, a man of benevolence and learning: it is a panegyric on the principles and intentions of our English settlement at Sierra Leone, wherein he apologizes for the hostile attack which his countrymen, the French, had lately made upon it, and which he asserts was by no means intended by the French Government."

During the progress of the Company, continuing anxious to promote the welfare of the settlers to the utmost of his own power as an individual, he sent a large collection of Bibles and other books, for the use of the schools and library at Sierra Leone. He continued also to send such tracts as he had either

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written or collected on subjects which he conceived to be of importance to the actual state of the colony.

G. S. to Zachary Macaulay, Esq. Governor of Sierra Leone.

[EXTRACT.]

"Dear Sir, "Garden Court, Temple, 29th September, 1796.

"Enclosed I send you a copy of the memorandums annexed to several of the articles in the catalogue of books which I sent to the public library some time ago, as perhaps some of the hints may be useful, more especially those relating to the forming towns and townships, agreeably to a printed plan, (No. 52.)

"I send you also two copies of the Appendix to No. 49, which consists of short forms of prayer; as I believe you will find that much decorum will be added to public meetings on business, if you make a point of requiring that prayer shall precede all public business, but more especially previous to the administration of justice in the courts of law. There are also forms for morning and evening prayer, which, though very short, comprehend the most essential points. "I am," &c. &c.

G. S. to William Dawes, Esq.

"Dear Sir, "Garden Court, Temple, 18th Nov. 1800.

"I send you two dozen copies of the Extract from Dampier, concerning fruit-trees, and one dozen copies of the tract on Maple Sugar, which I promised, that you may disperse them among such industrious people as will be likely to make a proper use of them. I have likewise sent you a tract on Congregational Courts, wherein the system of frank-pledge is explained; and two more copies of my plan for laying out towns and townships, wherein you will find a remark, in pp. 14, 15, which shows that

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frank-pledge is so strongly enjoined as a part of the English Constitution by Magna Charta, that it would be illegal to lay it aside in the new colony, now that it has been once re-established by the authority of the Directors. If you establish the ancient *watch* and *ward* by a regular rotation of all the inhabitants, making the householders of each tithing and hundred responsible for the neglects of the inferiors whom they respectively pledge, you will soon find an adequate power to restrain and punish the refractory, who are but few in comparison of the whole body of householders. And it will be prudent to make the *watch guard* the regular supporters of the civil power, and to enforce, *under the sheriff*, the writs of the court; and never to call out the regular military force unless there be an absolute necessity, but to reserve them as a proper check for the last extremity: their presence in the settlement will encourage the majority of the settlers, whose true interest is peace and quiet, to oppose the refractory with more confidence in the support of Government, if they are not irritated by any military arrangement." &c. &c.

An earnest *Address to the Maroons* (of the same date as the last letter), on the several subjects of Polygamy, of Slavery, and of the careful regulation of their conduct in their new settlement; and a Letter to the Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company, on the subject of Adultery and Divorce, are also among his papers, designed for the instruction of the settlers; as are likewise two memoranda on subjects of *religion and government*, sent with the collection of books to Sierra Leone; the whole furnishing additional documents of his unceasing earnestness to spread the

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light of Christianity and the benefits of useful knowledge over the world*.

* Mr. Sharp appears to have taken a very early charge of the instruction of the Negro settlers. The following letter bears the date of the year in which they first sailed for Sierra Leone. It is evidently the composition of some person better acquainted with the construction of the English language than the poor Negro slaves can be supposed to have been, but probably displays the *sentiments* of those whose names are subscribed to it, and it *proves* how earnestly their instructor had endeavoured to instil into their minds the principles of religion.

" *The Address of Thanks of the Sons of Africa to the Honourable Granville Sharp, Esq.*

" Honourable and Worthy Sir, " December 15, 1787.

" Give us leave to say, that every virtuous man is a truly honourable man; and he that doth good hath the honour to himself: and many blessings are upon the head of the just, and their memory shall be blessed, and their works praise them in the gate.

" And we must say, that we, who are a part, or descendants, of the much-wronged people of Africa, are peculiarly and greatly indebted to you, for the many good and friendly services that you have done towards us, and which are now even out of our power to enumerate.

" Nevertheless, we are truly sensible of your great kindness and humanity; and we cannot do otherwise but endeavour, with the utmost sincerity and thankfulness, to acknowledge our great obligations to you, and, with the most feeling sense of our hearts, on all occasions to express and manifest our gratitude and love for your long, valuable, and indefatigable labours and benevolence towards us, in using every means to rescue our suffering brethren in slavery.

" Your writings, Sir, are not of trivial matters, but of great and essential things of moral and religious importance, worthy the regard of all men; and abound with many great and

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After Naimbanna's return to his country, the son of another African Chief, who resided in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, visited England for instruction; and, besides the advantages which he

precious things, of sacred writ, particularly respecting the laws of God, and the duties of men.

"Therefore, we wish, for ourselves and others, that these valuable treatises may be collected and preserved, for the benefit and good of all men, and for an enduring memorial of the great learning, piety, and vigilance of our good friend the worthy Author. And we wish that the laws of God, and his ways of righteousness and truth, set forth and described therein, may be as a path for the virtuous and prudent to walk in, and as a clear shining light to the wise in all ages; and that these, and other writings of that nature, may be preserved and established as a monument or beacon to guide and to warn men, lest they should depart from the paths of justice and humanity; and that they may more and more become a means of curbing the vicious violators of God's holy Law, and to restrain the avaricious invaders of the rights and liberties of men, whilever the human race inhabits this earth below.

"And, ever honourable and worthy Sir, may the blessing and peace of Almighty God be with you, and long preserve your valuable life, and make you abundantly useful in every good word and work! And when God's appointed time shall come, may your exit be blessed, and may you arise and for ever shine in the glorious world above, when that Sovereign Voice, speaking with joy, as the sound of many waters, shall be heard, saying, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord!' It will then be the sweetest of all delights for ever, and more melodious than all music! And such honour and felicity will the blessed God and Saviour of his people bestow upon all the saints and faithful servants who are redeemed from among men, and saved from sin, slavery, misery, pain, and death, and from eternal dishonour and wrath impending upon the heads of all the wicked and rebellious.

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reaped in that respect from the bounty of the Company, appears to have received from Mr. Sharp the usual kindness of attention which he was so ready to bestow. A letter from the person here mentioned affords a specimen of African disposition and intellect.

Anthony Domingo to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Worshipful and dear Sir, " Freetown, June 3, 1797.

" With affectionate gratitude and respect, I beg leave to present you with these few lines. My great and long absence from you makes me very solicitous concerning your welfare. Natural affection inclines me strongly to have you in remembrance, tendering your welfare in every respect very dear to me.

" I have no other way of expressing my gratitude at present, than by my hearty thanks to the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, for giving me education and bringing me to the knowledge of God. May the blessing

—" And now, honourable Sir, with the greatest submission, we must beg you to accept this memorial of our thanks for your good and faithful services towards us, and for your humane commiseration of our brethren and countrymen unlawfully held in slavery.

" And we have hereunto subscribed a few of our names, as a mark of our gratitude and love. And we are, with the greatest esteem and veneration, honourable and worthy Sir, your most obliged and most devoted humble servants,

" OTTOBAH CUGOANO.	" JASPER GOREE.
JOHN STUART.	GUSTAVUS VASSA.
GEO. ROB. MANDERVILLE.	JAMES BAILEY.
WILLIAM STEVENS.	THOMAS OXFORD.
JOSEPH ALMAZE.	JOHN ADAMS.
BOUGHWA GEGANSMEL.	GEORGE WALLACE."

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of God attend them on every occasion! I shall ever acknowledge with gratitude the obligations I am under to the Divine Being for bestowing on me such pious and virtuous friends.

"The distance at which Providence has placed me from you, has neither made me ungrateful nor undutiful. When I left England, I felt a violent struggle in my mind between inclination and duty. I could have wished to have spent my advanced years in that place where I first obtained your acquaintance. But I hope I shall be one of the numbers that shall teach my countrymen; to convince them of the necessity of repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ; to guard them against temptations, to build them up in most holy faith, and to prepare them for eternal happiness." &c. &c.

"ANTHONY DOMINGO."

G. S., in reply.—[EXTRACT.]

"Your letter of June last affords me great satisfaction; for I am confident that the just principles you have expressed, if you are careful to continue in them, will not only secure your own peace and solid satisfaction, but also be serviceable to others; for even bad men will approve a good example in others: so that practical worth, when sincere and unaffected, is more persuasive than the most eloquent language, and affords the best instruction to all around us."

&c. &c.

The only remaining documents of Mr. Sharp's action, relative to his colony, are such as exhibit him twice pleading in behalf of the unfortunate and misguided settlers.

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After the first insurrection had been suppressed (in 1794), he appears as the advocate for those *personally*, whose *cause* he condemned, in the concluding part of a letter to the Chairman of the Sierra Leone Company.

G. S. to Henry Thornton, Esq.

[EXTRACT.]

"26th November, 1794.

....." I must likewise request, that, agreeably to the promise in my letter, which you approved, to the Sierra Leone Settlers [who were sent prisoners to England], very particular directions may be given to Governor Dawes, or the Government at Sierra Leone, to protect, and also to grant some reasonable allowance to subsist, their wives and families that are left at the settlement.— I have still something more to propose on behalf of these men, but am fearful I shall not easily obtain the general concurrence of the other Directors, who are so extremely intimidated with the apprehension of a further insurrection in the colony. But I do not at all conceive that there would be the least occasion to fear the return of these men, provided due caution be taken that the rest of the settlers (and more especially the persons who return in the next ship, and have actually petitioned in their behalf,) shall pledge their future good behaviour, and take care to separate the offenders into several different hundreds at the settlement on their return. It would be a still farther security for their good behaviour, if the Governor would undertake an active part of soliciting their liberation, on condition of their earnestly promising to behave peaceably hereafter. It is magnanimous to forgive injuries; and I should never fear any bad consequences from the performance of this first of Christian

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duties, under reasonable caution to prevent mischief; but I should have real apprehension from persisting in a refusal to pardon in the present case. Governor Dawes's kind interference in good time, to obtain their pardon from the Company on due promise of submission, and leave to return as soon as their release can be obtained, will remove all difficulties and dangers."

A second letter, of much later date, is of the same nature. It shows him still struggling to preserve the original privileges of the colonists, and solicitous for lenient measures towards them, when they acted under mistaken views of the conduct of their protectors.—

It appears, from the Reports of the colony published in March 1814*, that an unpleasant misunderstanding had taken place respecting the militia law, and that, in consequence, many of the Maroons had withdrawn themselves from the settlement.

G. S. to the Right Hon. General Maxwell, Governor of Sierra Leone.

"Right Hon. Sir, "Garden Court, Temple, Dec. 22, 1812.

"Having been the first proposer of forming the settlement at Sierra Leone, and having also been, for many years, one of the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company, I think it my peculiar duty to represent to you the probable cause of that discontentment which has lately been manifested by the Maroons at Sierra Leone, under your

* Eighth Report of the Directors of the African Institution.

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government. But, in the first place, it is necessary for me to inform you, that the merit of the Maroons, in their zealous and effectual defence of that new colony, when it was attacked by a numerous body of the neighbouring African chiefs, ought never to be forgotten. The Maroons have always been remarkably industrious in the cultivation of their lots of land, much more than any of the other settlers; and, therefore, when they are withdrawn from their profitable labours, to be drilled under martial law, instead of the only true constitutional means of defence, the English frank-pledge, which in the books of our Common Law is entitled 'the chief and greatest security' (*summa et maxima securitas*), and in which the householders elect all the officers (except the Governor and chief magistrates) who command them (without the King's commission,)—a glorious privilege, which was *absolutely promised to them* by the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company—so unhappy a deprivation of it must necessarily occasion much discontent among them. The Sierra Leone Company, indeed, have since resigned their management of the colony to his Majesty's Government; but as the English frank-pledge is the essential branch of the English Constitution declared by Magna Charta, which all the Kings of Great Britain are by oath at their coronation bound to maintain, it is not easy to conceive that there can be any real intention to deprive the King's subjects in Sierra Leone of that most essential privilege, which was promised, and really established there by the Company.

"The Act of Parliament by which the Sierra Leone Company was incorporated (viz. 31 Geo. III.), a copy of which I send herewith, very prudently limited the establishment of the frank-pledge, so that it cannot interfere with the supreme government of the colony.

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"The Directors of the Company were empowered 'to make laws for the government of the colony,' (p. 8), and 'to appoint a Governor and Council,' (ibid.); and 'that the Governor and Council may make laws, which shall have effect until disallowed by the Directors'—viz. 'laws not repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm,' (p. 9); —'that a Mayor and three Aldermen should be incorporated by the name of the Mayor and Aldermen of Freetown,' (ibid.); —'that the Governor and Council be Justices of the Peace, and hold Quarter Sessions, and be a Court of Record,' (p. 30.)

"All these laws and privileges were fully established in the colony; and a short sketch of temporary Regulations was drawn up by myself, as being one of the Directors of the Company: and several printed copies of it were sent to the Governor and Council of the colony, to be placed in the public library; a copy of which is also sent herewith. (See No. 3.)

"I am impressed with a most sincere respect for yourself, Right Hon. Sir, for your zealous, constant, and most excellent conduct, as Governor of Sierra Leone, in defending the rights of poor injured Africans; and am, with sincere esteem,

"Right Hon. Sir," &c. &c.

It is satisfactory to add, that, by the benevolent exertions of Governor Maxwell, these deluded men were induced to return to the settlement, and regained possession of their property.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART IV.

Abolition of the Slave Trade.

MR. SHARP'S MEANS OF EXPENDITURE—VARIOUS TRUSTS —CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE MEMBERS OF THE FRENCH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE— ITS PROGRESS — MR. WILBERFORCE SUPPORTS THE CAUSE IN PARLIAMENT — BILL BROUGHT IN BY MR. FOX AND LORD GRENVILLE.

MR. SHARP'S CONDUCT AS CHAIRMAN OF THE SOCIETY — ANECDOTES OF MR. PITT RELATIVE TO THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES — AFRICAN INSTITUTION — PROTESTANT UNION.

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PART IV.

CHAP. I.

IN the arduous attempt to found the colony of Sierra Leone, if we compare the great expenses, necessarily incurred, with the slender fortune of the Founder, it seems difficult to account for the means by which he was so long enabled to prosecute his benevolent enterprise. Besides the heavy charges defrayed by the Government at his solicitation, he, on various occasions, advanced considerable sums, far exceeding his income, and it is not immediately evident from what sources he drew his supplies. The profits acquired in his situation at the Ordnance must long before have been expended. In 1780 he received a small increase of wealth by a legacy from a relation *. In 1783, on the death of his beloved

* *MS.*—'1780. Mrs. Prowse (formerly Elizabeth Sharp), the 'eldest daughter of my uncle John Sharp, died this summer at 'Berkley in Somersetshire, and left me five hundred and fifty 'pounds, naming me also, at the end of a long entail, for 'estates in Northamptonshire and in Lincolnshire.'

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brother James, the widow having been left with the care of a business of large extent, wholly out of the province of female attention, he undertook the entire management of it, and, for that purpose, left his brother William's house in the Old Jewry (which had till then been his home), and became an inmate with his sister-in-law in Leadenhall Street, where the business was then carried on. He conducted this new department with his accustomed good sense and diligence, for more than six years, until the whole concern was finally arranged and closed, and the widow was at liberty to retire into the country. During the term of his management he received a liberal stipend from the business.

But as neither of these circumstances brought him an accession of property at all adequate to the expenses of the plans in which he engaged, may it, then, be imagined that so virtuous a man found others of congenial character, by whose assistance (concealed at their request) he was provided with means to carry on his designs?—Something of this nature has been seen in his letters *.

From the liberal friendship of his family he derived a further power of occasional exertions. The generous tender of a constant provision in the houses of his brothers, William and James, has before been mentioned. An annual sum was at first placed at his disposal, and to this act of kindness they soon

* To Dr. Lettsom. Account of the Colony at Sierra Leone, *vide supra*, p. 91.

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afterwards added the refined attention of making over to him, from their own funds, a fixed sum in *capital*, instead of income, in order to preclude any feelings of conditional dependence on their bounty. This capital could be employed in aid of his plans; and there is reason to believe, from what he says of the diminution of his private fortune, that he devoted a large part of it to the exigencies of his undertaking*.

In 1787, just at the commencement of the Sierra Leone enterprise, an additional source of means came unexpectedly into his hands.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

"Dear Brother, "31st October, 1787.

"As every thing that nearly concerns me is equally interesting to all my dear brothers and sisters, I ought sooner to have informed you of a small addition to my income, by the will of my late worthy friend Mrs. Oglethorpe, who died last Friday at her seat at Cranham Hall, in Essex. I am appointed one of her executors, and am also joined in two separate trusts; so that a great deal of

* In the first planning of the colony at Sierra Leone, it does not appear that any large expense was contemplated, beyond the aid which Government had consented to give. The following is an extract from a letter from Mr. Sharp to his brother at Durham, in June 1786:—

"I enclose an account of the intended settlement in Africa. I have promised to give twenty-five pounds towards procuring land. About fifty pounds, it seems, are wanted. Government will be at the expense of sending and fitting out the Settlers. If the Trustees of Bamburgh would give another twenty-five pounds, they would do a great act of charity."

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my leisure must necessarily be taken up; but, in recompence, she has left me the Manor of Fairsted in Essex, *with a recommendation to settle it in my life-time to charitable uses after my death*, leaving the appropriation to my own direction and choice *. I shall be very anxious to have the best advice, and most mature consideration, how I may most advantageously dispose of this little estate for public charity after my death."

That the income derived from this bequest was employed on the African settlement is an obvious conclusion.—*These* were his whole resources. Regularity, economy, and parsimonious self-denial, must have supplied the rest.

The legacy of Fairsted brought with it a new duty, and, of course, presented a new scope of action to Mr. Sharp's beneficence. After settling the several charges on the estate, he directed his attention to the ultimate views of the testatrix, and reduced to method a design which, he informs his brother, he had "long had in idea, of promoting a *General Asylum* in London, as a means of uniting more effectually and usefully some of the established charities."

* The estate was left by Mrs. Oglethorpe to Granville Sharp, Esq., his heirs and assigns, for ever; with a *recommendation to him to settle it during his life-time to the benefit of some charitable establishment after his decease;* and at the same time *expressly enjoining him to reserve the possession and profits of the estate to himself during his life.*

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"The London Workhouse was intended for something of this kind by Bishop Ridley; but the plan failed for want of proper regulations, though the City has still power to raise contributions for it from all the London parishes. Here, then, must be the foundation of my offer to the City, as a *nest-egg* for more charity."—*Letter to Dr. J. Sharp* *.

His next care was to print his plan †, and to submit it to the inspection of his friends, as appears from a letter to Dr. Barrington, Bishop of Salisbury :—

"My Lord, "21st May, 1789.

"The advocates for slavery have said much of the superior hardships of our own poor at home; and as I have not been less anxious to promote their welfare than that of the poor Negroes, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's correction the enclosed plan for a General Asylum;

* "Bishop Ridley's intentions for Bridewell also," adds Mr. Sharp, "are by no means effectual for the desired good, through want of further regulations. The poor wretches are confined, whipped, and then turned loose more wicked than they were when they went in, for want of separate confinement, and for want of encouragement to work.

"The plan of a General Asylum may be a means of correcting both these charities, and may therefore justly demand a considerable aid from both."

† "Soon after I received the above-mentioned trust, I printed a plan for a public charity in the nature of a General Asylum for the poor, in separate classes, proposed to be under the management of the City Magistrates, assisted by an united Committee of Governors, to be elected by the Governors of all the Royal Hospitals, without interfering with their respective establishments."—*Letter to the Committee of the Corporation of London.* See Appendix, No. XXX.

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and I request your consideration and advice upon it, because I am very anxious to promote to the best advantage the trust that is put upon me," &c. &c.

The plan, however, did not proceed with quickness proportionate to his zeal. The occupation of his thoughts on the perilous concerns of his Sierra Leone colony, probably precluded any very effective attention on his part to other objects. It is not till the close of his individual exertions in support of that undertaking, that his customary activity appears in the further search for some charitable establishment, on which he might settle the contingent benefits of the Fairsted estate.

In maturing his plan, his principal attention was directed to a point in which the defect of our police has long been a subject of just regret.

G. S. to Dr. John Sharp.

" 14th September, 1790.

" I am endeavouring to bring forward, as fast as I can, the plan of a public charity, but more especially one branch of it, *the asylum for the females*, to be employed in spinning linen and woollen thread and yarn in the London Workhouse, where there is a noble building ready and fit for the purpose, and where there are, at present, only about thirty children, though it is capable of accommodating four or five hundred."

Agreeably to these intentions, his first especial offer was made, not long afterwards, to the Corporation of London.

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In 1791 he addressed a letter, dated April 18, to the Committee appointed to inquire into the state of the London Workhouse; in which, after expressing his conviction "that the *Corporation for the Poor of London* were already invested with ample powers to fulfil all the principal objects which he had in view in his plan for a General Asylum," he submitted to them a proposal for a reform of the London Workhouse, in order to the more effectually "protecting, instructing, and employing the poor in that establishment." To this plan he subjoined an offer of the first reversion of the manor of Fairsted, and such *conditions of the gift* as he thought most conducive to the success of his designs. On the day following he received a deputation from the Committee, to consult with him respecting the general purposes of their appointment; and in the beginning of the following year he writes thus to the Marquis of Lansdown:—

"My Lord, "January 29, 1792.

"I take the liberty to send your Lordship the account of another charitable plan, *the proposed reformation of the London Workhouse*, which the Common Council have now adopted, and have summoned me to meet their Committee next week, in order to consult on the means of carrying it into execution."

The meeting, however, ended unfavourably to his wishes *.

* In the meeting here mentioned, I have been informed by a Member of the Committee, still living, that Mr. Sharp was

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He does not appear, at the commencement of this transaction, to have been fully aware of the legal impediment which the testatrix had raised to the completion of her own intentions, by the particular conditions annexed to her bequest.

The further account of his efforts to discharge his trust shall be related by himself.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, President of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of Negro Slaves in the West India Islands.

" My Lord, " 14th January, 1795.

" I have lately been informed that your Lordship has obtained a Charter for the establishment of a Society to promote the instruction of Negro Slaves in the British Colonies, and that a foundation is thereby laid for forming a most respectable body of trustees, whereof your Lordship, as Bishop of London, is the President, with full

anxious that the proposed Regulations, which had received the assent of the Corporation of London, should take place without delay; and he proposed, that, until the manor and estate of Fairsted should become the property of the Corporation, they should appropriate an annual sum, such as they should judge proper, to the purposes of the charity, in order, as he stated, " to set an example to other public bodies, city companies, and individuals," &c. But the Corporation did not deem it prudent to incur such an expense, until they should be actually put in possession of the intended gift, either by Mr. Sharp's decease, or by his transfer of the estate to them during his life-time. The subject, therefore, was wholly dropped.

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powers to accept the reversions of lands, to be appropriated, after the death of the donors, to that charitable purpose, *notwithstanding the existing laws against mortmain.*

["The Bishops of London, having for many years been charged with the spiritual concerns of all the British colonies, must frequently have been impressed with anxious concern for the unhappy case of myriads of poor Heathens, held in hopeless ignorance and slavery, within the bounds of their jurisdictions; and, of course, must have lamented the want of proper means to provide for the religious instruction of these poor oppressed people, as well as their own want of due influence, at so great a distance, to urge and promote it. And some even worthy predecessors of your Lordship may (through the misrepresentations of mercenary colonists, and other interested persons connected with them, respecting the care and attention of the masters toward their poor Heathen labourers) have probably been induced to consider the Slave Trade, and slavery, rather as the means of introducing poor Heathens to the knowledge of the Gospel under Christian masters, than as illegal oppressions, which the odious terms *Slave Trade* and *Slavery* imply, and, through this vain pretence of the colonists, have been deluded to think more favourably than they ought of our *national delinquency* in tolerating slavery. But the contrary effect has been notorious: instead of instructing their slaves to become Christians, the masters themselves, by illegal trust of an unlimited dominion over their poor brethren, have generally acquired all the vicious depravities of the worst of Heathens; and the almost total neglect of religious instructions to their slaves is sufficiently known. Of late, indeed, some few itinerant Moravians, and also well-meaning enthusiasts, have laboured to instruct the poor Heathen strangers, and

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with astonishing success; but not at the expense of the masters, as it ought to have been; for these poor itinerant missionaries are chiefly supported by subscriptions in England, which I have endeavoured to promote.]

"Your Lordship's attention [therefore] to the charitable work of instructing the slaves in our colonies, is particularly seasonable at this time, and perfectly accords with the sacred duties of your high and important episcopal charge. And I sincerely hope that this worthy design may be liberally promoted by the affluent, and by all persons that can afford to contribute.

"As to myself, I have very little to spare at present, but I have considerable to offer in reversion for futurity; which I mention with the less reserve, because I do not consider my present intentions as my own charity, but only as a continuation of my unremitted efforts to fufil a trust devolved upon me by a worthy deceased friend, who gave me an estate, to be bestowed after my decease *on some public charity*, leaving me entirely at liberty in the choice of the charity. I speak of the estate and manor of Fairsted in Essex; the reversion of which I offered some time ago to the City of London, in trust, for the *encouragement of voluntary labourers* at the *London Workhouse*, that a due distinction might be made between industrious people, when they cannot obtain employment, and the idle and vagrant poor, who are the proper objects for Bridewell Hospital; but, more especially, I insisted on the protection and employment of honest and industrious females* (women servants out of place, and poor

"* I mention more particularly these endeavours in behalf of honest and industrious females, because I consider their protection as a very important charity, and wish to recommend it to your Lordship as a secondary object for the appropriation

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girls), who seek an honest employment, to learn the art of spinning wool, if not already taught; and to be encouraged in their diligence by whatever profits may arise from their labour, beyond their estimated proportion of the general charge of maintenance and house-expense. The Court of Aldermen and Common Council ordered my letter to be printed and sent to all the members of that court, that the terms might be considered; but some difficulties were apprehended, chiefly, I believe, respecting the Mortmain Acts, which prevented the acceptance of them.

[" I next turned my thoughts to some new regulations for the better employment and improvement of the unhappy females at *Bridewell Hospital**. Spinning has been since introduced, and several other improvements, but an asylum for honest and industrious females cannot, with propriety, be annexed to that charity.]

" I do not at present know of any other established public charity more worthy my attention, than that which your Lordship has proposed for the instruction of Negro Slaves in the colonies; and I am, therefore, willing to present to your Lordship, and the other Trustees for that Charity, by a proper deed of gift, the next reversion of my whole estate and manor of Fairsted, containing about three hundred and fifty-eight acres of valuable freehold land of my own, besides a considerable extent of freehold and copyhold lands, held by the manorial tenants, on the payment of several small quit-rents and occasional fines, of

of the revenues of your Lordship's trust, in case the primary object should cease by a general enfranchisement of slaves, which there is ample reason to expect."—*Note to Letter.*

* Mr. Sharp was elected a Governor of Bridewell and Bethlem Hospitals, on 30th Nov. 1786.

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the Manor of Fairsted; two small charges only remaining on the estate. But I wish to create a small additional charge, to provide for the instruction of the poor children in the parish of Fairsted itself, in reading, working, and spinning, as a mere matter of justice to the poor labourers of the soil from whence the revenue arises; for it would seem a gross partiality to send away the whole revenue of the little district for the instruction of foreigners, excluding the poor natives of the manor from the same advantages: and therefore I hope that this additional charge, being under the same trust as that for the instruction of Negro Slaves, may fairly be considered rather as a reasonable and allowable part of the ordinary expenses of the estate, than as a distinct charity. I wish also to reserve, under the same trust, about fourteen acres of land, to be distributed or let, from time to time, in small portions among the poor cottagers of the parish, for gardens or potatoe-grounds, under particular regulations, which I have to propose, while they hold no other land; for without such small portions of land, mere labourers in agriculture can scarcely subsist, since they have been deprived of the benefit of common land: so that this second proposal may also be fairly allowed, as a necessary branch of the ordinary expenses of the estate, towards the due support of the poor labourers by whom it is cultivated, and not as a distinct charity. These two additional charges to the estate, I propose, not only as a kind of duty I owe to the natives of it, but also as humble examples to promote similar arrangements on other estates; because I conceive that whatever will most effectually promote the increase of population in any district or manor, (I mean increase only among industrious and orderly people,) must be an effectual means of increasing also the value of the landed property in that district; and

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surely a due constant regard and provision for the instruction of the labouring poor, as well as for their comfortable existence, which are the only objects of my two additional charges on the estate, seem to be the most natural and obvious means of producing these desirable effects.

["Indeed, some such regulations are too generally wanted throughout England, for the relief of the poor cottagers—I mean chiefly those that are employed as mere day-labourers in husbandry, whose wages are now become utterly inadequate to the enormously increased prices of all the necessaries of life, and in many counties are not sufficient to purchase the necessary food and clothing for the families even of the most industrious and hard-working men: so that the condition of this most useful and necessary class of the people is certainly too much reduced, and requires some general reformation, more especially as the unfeeling advocates of the Slave Trade are continually vaunting the superior condition of the colonial slaves to that of the labouring poor in England:—a comparison as unjust as it is odious; because the English labourer is protected at least from all personal ill-usage and outrage, by equal laws; and when the scanty pittance of wages (though not half that is due from his employers) is expended, he is entitled to demand some additional support for his family from the parish where he lives. (Nevertheless, it must be allowed, that it is extremely unjust that an industrious man, who labours hard six days in every week, should be subjected to this latter most humiliating circumstance, and thereby lose his elective rights as an English householder, merely because his wages are inadequate to the necessary expenses of a family. The case of day-labourers in husbandry most certainly demands redress, though not by any means so deplorable as to admit of the

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least comparison with the detestable oppression of the poor strangers under our colonial bondage, which is even worse in many respects than the hardened Egyptian tyranny of old, and its retribution must also be more signally awful.)]

"If the proposed conditions should be approved by your Lordship and the rest of the Right Reverend and Right Honourable Trustees, I shall immediately prepare an irrevocable deed of gift of the next reversion of my whole estate and manor of Fairsted, to be presented to your Lordship, as 'President of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands.'

"With sincere respect, my Lord, &c. &c."*

Two days after the date of the foregoing letter, appears the following:—

MS. '1795, Jan. 16. Lambeth Palace. The 'Bishop of London accepts the trust of Fairsted 'estate.'

* The original copy of this letter contained a full detail of his first progress in the liberation of Negro Slaves (inserted in a former part of the Memoirs), and many remarks on the Slave Trade, which being considered by the Bishop as extraneous to the immediate purpose of the letter, it was re-written, with the omissions desired by his Lordship, and enclosed to him in a manly address, which the reader will find among other papers of a similar nature in the ensuing chapters.

N. B. Two or three paragraphs, inserted between brackets [ ], are here restored from the original, because they relate to facts explanatory of Mr. Sharp's conduct, in the endeavour to discharge the charitable office bequeathed to him by his friend.

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Nevertheless, this attempt also to settle the reversion, agreeably to the humane views of the testatrix, failed of success.

"The Bishop," says Mr. Sharp in a letter to a friend, "consulted some of the highest authorities in the profession of the law; who were of opinion that the business could not be established, because of the laws against Mortmain; which was nearly the same opinion that had before been given by the Recorder and City Officers."

In the same letter he relates a subsequent experiment, in which he appears to have given away a part of the revenue during his life-time, but of which the provisions in future are not mentioned.

"But I have already disposed of a few acres of land, by way of experiment, in favour of another very different charity. The land is laid out in small lots, as *cottage-land*; some lots consisting of one acre and a half, but mostly of one single acre only: which lots are let to a few farmers' labourers (those that have the largest families in the parish) at a low rent; the income of which is expended in the instruction of all the poor children in the parish, whose parents cannot afford to pay for their schooling. The number of children, in general, has been from fifteen to twenty; and the cottagers are perfectly contented, and pay their rents most thankfully *."

* This experiment is in part proposed in his letter to the Bishop of London. The result of it does not appear.

The estate and manor of Fairsted have been reclaimed by the heirs of Mrs. Oglethorpe since Mr. Sharp's death, and are now in their possession.

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Mrs. Oglethorpe was not the only person who imposed on Mr. Sharp the task of providing for a charitable establishment. About the year 1791 he was named a trustee also by Joseph Wilcocks, Esq. who left by will a large sum towards endowing an hospital for the county of Kent; and, in pursuance of the testator's wishes on the occasion, he obtained a grant of the remains of Rochester Castle for that purpose. A letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his advice "for the more effectually promoting the intended charity," discloses these particulars *.

Nor was the great repute of Mr. Sharp's philanthropy productive of applications merely of a private nature. Integrity of character exerts a resistless influence, which is extensive in proportion as time and opportunity render its possessor an object of notoriety. In the tumultuary movements which had begun to agitate France, he was addressed by several of the most virtuous members of the

* "We are limited to the neighbourhood of Rochester for the site; and Mr. Wilcocks, who had an affection for that place on account of his father, the late Bishop, inquired of me some years ago whether I did not think *Rochester Castle* would make a good County Hospital. I answered, that I was sure it would do extremely well, knowing the great advantage my eldest brother had in promoting a public charity, by roofing an old tower, not near so large and handsome as that of Rochester. And I have the pleasure to acquaint your Grace, that the proprietors of the Castle, Lady Ducie, Mr. Dent, &c. the representatives of Mr. Child's house, have very generously consented *to give the Castle* to the Public Charity."

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National Assembly; and he held a continued correspondence with Brissot, La Fayette, Roland, and others among the principal abettors of the first revolution, on the most important concerns; expressing his opinions with his usual sincerity and benevolence, and taking a deep interest in their success.

In his admonitions to the new reformers, the most solemn and emphatical warnings respecting West-Indian Slavery, were not omitted; and their effects were seen in the declarations of the French Republicans on that subject.

The advance of the great work, of which he had long before laboured to lay the foundation in his own country (as important to the general interests of humanity as to the character of England), now demands our attention.

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CHAP. II.

THE mischiefs which had befallen, and the danger of entire destruction which had more than once menaced, the infant colony of Freedom in Africa, were, in great part, to be ascribed to the unshaken vigour in which the detestable Slave Trade still continued to flourish. A free settlement, supported by industry and national commerce, seemed likely gradually to undermine and eventually destroy the sordid traffic, by opening the eyes of the African chiefs to their own superior interests, and showing them that the produce of social labour was a far greater source of wealth to their revenues, than the captivity and sale of their subjects. What wonder, then, if the slave-traders set every engine to work, to irritate the natives of Africa against the new colonists, to undermine them in their turn, and thus pervert the ends of benevolence?

"—Out of good still to find means of ill!"

But Providence, in its mercy, was now about to cut the thread of long-suffered iniquity, and to comfort and strengthen those whom it had chosen to be advocates on earth for their fellow-creatures.

After numerous and unwearied endeavours on

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the part of the Quakers in America, and of the zealous Clarkson and Granville Sharp in England, in behalf of the wretched, and till of late unpitied, victims of degraded humanity, the time had arrived, when it appeared to be within the bounds of hope, that an association of benevolent persons, protected by a congenial movement in the British Parliament, might lead to a retrieval of the human character from the ignominy of the Slave Trade.

Endeavours were therefore used to collect, and unite in one body, the various parties who had severally, and almost independently of one another, begun to make exertions of a similar nature; and in the spring of 1787 especial meetings were convened of a few men of eminent character, all of whom were friendly to the cause. One of their meetings was held almost in the same month in which the little fleet set sail, which carried the first banner of English liberty to the coast of Africa; and it was at this meeting that an event took place, which gave preponderance to the scale of African freedom. Mr. Wilberforce was there solicited to take the lead in a parliamentary effort for the *abolition* of the cruel traffic in our species; and, in that communion of benevolent minds, the corresponding impulse of his heart prompted him to yield a ready assent to an engagement of no common magnitude *.

* The meeting was at the house of Bennet Langton, Esq.: the persons present were, Sir Charles Middleton, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Hawkins Brown, Mr. Windham, Sir Joshua

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The first important point being happily secured, the next step was to arrange measures for prosecuting the scheme in such a manner as should be most conducive to the great end in view. Many days did not elapse before the design was carried into execution. On the 22d of May, a Committee was chosen, consisting of twelve members, whose *declared duty and purpose* it was to promote, by every means in their power, an *abolition of the traffic in the human race.* Granville Sharp was included in the Committee.

Reynolds, and Mr. Boswell. Mr. Clarkson remarks, that Sir J. Reynolds and Mr. H. Brown gave their *unqualified approbation of the abolition of the trade.* Mr. Windham and Mr. Boswell spoke on the same side, though they afterwards became inimical to the cause.

The following are among the reasons given by Mr. Clarkson for considering Mr. Wilberforce as the most proper parliamentary leader in the cause of the Abolition.—

"His habits of diligent and persevering inquiry made him master of all the knowledge that was requisite for conducting it. His talents, both in and out of Parliament, made him a powerful advocate in its favour. His character, free from the usual spots of human imperfection, gave an appropriate lustre to the cause, making it look yet more lovely, and enticing others to its support. But, most of all, the motive on which he undertook it, ensured its progress: for this did not originate in views of selfishness, or party, or popular applause, but in an awful sense of his duty as a Christian. It was this which gave him alacrity and courage in his pursuit. It was this which, when year after year of unsuccessful exertion returned, occasioned him to be yet fresh and vigorous in spirit, and to persevere till the day of triumph."—*History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade.*

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The incipient labours of the Association were cheered by an important coincidence, which occurred at this time. The efforts of the humane Anthony Benezet, and other American Quakers, had, by gradual advances, at length effected a general manumission of slaves among the whole body of men of their persuasion; and the year 1787, in which the Committee was appointed in England for promoting the abolition of the trade, was the first year distinguished in America by the gratifying circumstance of *there not remaining a single slave in the possession of an acknowledged Quaker*. The superstition of ancient times would have hailed this coincidence as an auspicious omen; the sensibility of modern ones perceived its influence.

Eleven years had now elapsed since the criminality of the Slave Trade was first adverted to in the House of Commons. It was in 1776, that a motion was made by Mr. David Hartley, (a son of the celebrated physician and metaphysician, and) Member for Hull, the purport of which was, "That the Slave Trade was contrary to the laws of God and to the rights of men." The motion was seconded by Sir George Saville. But the proposition failed entirely of support, and its very memory had nearly vanished. It was now resumed with a happier prospect. The trials which had occurred with regard to Negroes in this country, had awakened a very general attention to the subject of African slavery; and although prejudice to a great degree,

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and interest to a much greater, still guarded the ground "with Gorgonian terrors" against the attempts of the philanthropists, considerable access to liberal minds had been gained by the assiduous and affecting eloquence of these new pleaders in the cause of humanity. They could not, indeed, address themselves so long in vain to the naturally reflective disposition of our nation *.

The progress of this humane, and finally powerful association, is so well known from Mr. Clarkson's faithful and interesting history, that it will merely be requisite, in this place, to give such a summary notice of its actions, as may serve to connect the thread of Mr. Sharp's Memoirs during his participation in its labours. The rapid progress of public sentiment is deserving of our attention.

The Committee for effecting an *Abolition of the Slave Trade* assumed its denomination in June 1787, and immediately dispersed circular letters, giving an account of the Institution. These letters soon procured the friendly notice of the Quakers at large; and a deputation also from the *General Baptists* informed the Committee of their wish and intentions to labour with them in the cause of human freedom.

* "Men's minds began to be impressed with the moral necessity of the abolition of the Slave Trade; an impression which had been gradually brought on by the public labours of Mr. Sharp; and several had become inclined to unite for the extirpation of this gigantic evil."—*Clarkson's History of the Abolition.*

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A correspondence was likewise quickly opened with the Societies established at New York and Philadelphia for the Manumission of Slaves and Abolition of Slavery.

In order to diffuse a more general knowledge of the subject, the Committee deemed it right to adopt the publication of a work which Mr. Clarkson had presented to them, entitled, "A summary View of the Slave Trade, and of the probable Consequences of its Abolition." Numerous copies of this useful tract were dispersed, and the curiosity of the public became every day more excited by the authentic information thus unexpectedly laid before them.

The new class of *moral revolutionists* in France warmly espoused the cause of the abolition. Brissot, and Claviere (his friend, and afterwards his fellow-sufferer under Robespierre's tyranny), requested to be admitted members of the Association.

The well-known John Wesley and Dr. Price next appeared as correspondents, with expressions in the highest degree friendly; and a letter from the Rev. Robert Boucher Nicholls, dean of Middleham in Yorkshire, was ordered by the Committee to be printed, and five thousand copies to be dispersed.

Dr. Watson, bishop of Landaff, also added his support.

In October, the Society adopted their present seal, which represents *an African in chains*, kneeling on one knee, and lifting both his hands in the act of supplication, with this motto,—"*Am I not a man*

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and a brother?" This simple but striking design appeared to have a very extensive effect.

About the end of November, two thousand more copies of Mr. Clarkson's tract were printed, and the Society's circular letter prefixed to each. All these having been eagerly accepted by the individuals to whom they were addressed, new impressions of the circular letter were ordered to the number of three thousand, prefixed to lists of the subscribers to the Institution; to which were added, one thousand five hundred copies of Benezet's *Account of Guinea*, three thousand of the Dean of Middleham's Letter, five thousand of Mr. Clarkson's Tract, and two thousand of another work of the same writer, "on *the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species.*"

Excited by this effective circulation of all the knowledge which the Committee continued to collect, on the subject of the Slave Trade, the feelings of a generous people soon began to be openly expressed. Meetings were called in various towns, to discuss the information which had been thus diffused; and by the middle of the ensuing February (1788) thirty-five petitions, praying for the Abolition of the Trade, were presented to the House of Commons. New correspondents had in the mean time offered themselves to the Committee of the Society; among whom were Dr. Horne, the president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Dr. Bathurst, (afterwards bishops of Norwich); Mr. Lambert, of Trinity College, Cambridge; and Dr. Hinchcliff,

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bishop of Peterborough, who presented a plan, called "Thoughts on the Means for abolishing the Slave Trade." Mr. Newton, also, the rector of Saint Mary Woolnoth, in London, who had in his youth been in Africa, addressed to the Committee "Thoughts on the African Slave Trade;" of which work three thousand copies were ordered to be printed.

The extensive disclosure of public sentiment was no less felt by the Government than by the Society itself; and in the same month of February, the King, by an Order of Council, directed that a Committee of Privy Council should sit as a Board of Trade, "to take into consideration the present state of the African trade, particularly as to the *manner of obtaining Slaves*, their *importation* and *sale* both in British and Foreign settlements, and the *consequences* of the trade to the *commerce* of the kingdom."

In the sittings of this Committee of Privy Council, no less than one hundred and three petitions were presented from various places and bodies of men, including the City of London, the two Universities, the large manufacturing towns, whole counties, the several dioceses of the Established Church, the Quakers, and Dissenters of other denominations. Additional letters and offers of service were (among others, nearly at the same time) received from the Rev. C. Wyvil; from Archdeacons Plymley and Paley (both proposing assistance in the great cause); from Dr. Sharp, prebendary of Durham; Dr. Woodward, bishop of Cloyne; and from the Marquis

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de la Fayette, who informed the Committee of his intention to establish a similar Society in France. The two latter persons having solicited to be admitted associates, were accordingly enrolled among the honorary and corresponding members of the Society.

Numerous other letters from various parts announced intentions of calling public meetings, to petition the Parliament in favour of the desired abolition.

The examinations before the Committee of Privy Council still continued; and the time was now approaching when it had been proposed to bring the subject forward in the House of Commons. The anxiety of the members of the Abolition Society was, of course, great; and their utmost diligence was exerted in maintaining the correspondences which had been so usefully and honourably opened. They learned, with great satisfaction, that the Society which had been proposed at Paris, for abolishing the Slave Trade, was actually established; that Condorcet was the president; that the Duke of Rochefoucauld and the Marquis de la Fayette stood first in the list of the members, and were followed by Petion, afterwards mayor of Paris, and other men of eminence.

New correspondents, also, continued to present themselves; among whom was Mr. Jay, the president of the Society before mentioned at New York; and the exertions of the Committee required a still greater degree of labour and attention. Additional

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works, which were esteemed useful to their cause, were printed, and more than nine thousand copies of different tracts were distributed in the most extensive manner possible. Sub-Committees were formed, who were charged to draw up a just statement of all the facts and arguments that had been brought forward against the Slave Trade, with a view to their translation into other languages, in order to give foreigners a suitable knowledge of the subject, as well as to confute many false reports which had been maliciously propagated concerning the object of the Institution.

One of the most powerful weapons that had been employed against the efforts of the Society, was a pamphlet entitled "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade." The writer was an Ex-Jesuit of the name of Harris, who was at that time a clerk in a slave-house at Liverpool, and engaged as a mercenary on the present occasion. His pamphlet was now ably answered by the Rev. James Ramsay, vicar of Teston in Kent, who had resided nineteen years in the island of Saint Christopher, and in that period had been a frequent eye-witness of the cruel treatment of the Negroes.

Unfortunately, during the continuance of these important transactions, Mr. Wilberforce was deprived by illness of the power of attending, or in any manner assisting, the Committee in its anxious progress; and two-thirds of the session of Parliament

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had thus passed by, without any step having been taken in the House of Commons to advance the claims of the Society on the attention of the public.

But the alarm experienced from these circumstances was unexpectedly relieved by a message from the Prime Minister to the Committee, desiring a conference with their Chairman, and by the subsequent assurance which they received of his intentions (on account of Mr. Wilberforce's absence through indisposition) to bring forward the subject, himself, in the House of Commons. Agreeably to his promise, on the 9th of May, 1788, Mr. Pitt proposed for the consideration of the House the actual state of the Slave Trade, and, reserving wholly his own opinion on it, desired merely to pledge the House to a full discussion of the subject in the next session. This motion, though agreed to, disappointed many, who were impressed with a belief that the general feelings of the members of Parliament, excited as they had been by the copious statements of African sufferings, would have secured the immediate abolition of the trade, *if Mr. Pitt's heart had been with his words.* A *secondary* motion was therefore introduced by Sir William Dolben, for leave to bring in a Bill to relieve the condition of the Negroes *during their passage* from Africa to the colonies, which was represented as miserable in the extreme, from their being unwholesomely crowded, and "crammed *like herrings*" into the ships in

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which they were transported. The Bill passed, after much opposition.

The Abolition Committee now renewed their efforts, both by further researches, and by attention to their correspondences. They made applications to France and to Sweden; which latter kingdom was represented as particularly likely to derive advantages from an abolition of the trade by England. They added also to the list of their correspondents many men of the most respectable names;—among whom were Dr. Franklin, president of the Society at Philadelphia; the High Sheriffs of Huntingdonshire, Yorkshire, and Herefordshire; and Mr. Evans on the part of the elders of several Baptist Churches, forming the Western Baptist Association; Mr. Irwin, of Grenada; and Mr. J. L. Wynne, of Jamaica.

The "Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade" were, at the same time, farther answered by the Rev. Mr. Hughes of Ware, and by Mr. William Roscoe; and numerous copies of these answers were printed by the Society, and dispersed as usual.

A Report was then printed of the motives and proceedings of the Society.

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CHAP. III.

Mr. Wilberforce's health being improved during the recess of Parliament in 1788, his recovery was hailed as a favourable omen to the progress of the cause.

Among the new honorary members elected into the Society at this period, was the present learned Bishop of St. David's, who had lately published a work of high importance to its general interests *.

Information was also received of the appointment of Committees in various towns of the kingdom, to assist the views of the Society; at Bristol, Manchester, Pool, Plymouth, and Exeter; and the same at Edinburgh. But the particular efforts of the Committee were directed to the maintenance of their correspondence with the different states of the European continent, and with America.

The meeting of Parliament in the following year renewed the hopes and fears of all parties. On the 19th of March, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce rose to make his expected motion; and the 23d of the next month was fixed for the important discussion. The day

* "Considerations on the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave Trade, on the Grounds of natural, political, and religious Duty."

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was afterwards changed to the 12th of May. On that day Mr. Wilberforce moved for the consideration of the numerous petitions presented to the House against the Slave Trade; and a Committee of the whole House immediately proceeded with the subject. Mr. Wilberforce submitted to the Committee twelve propositions, leading to the Abolition of the Slave Trade. The discussion was resumed on the 21st, and continued on the 26th, 29th, and on the 9th of June; when, by the consent of Mr. Wilberforce, and in consequence of the numerous delays that had been opposed, a motion was made for deferring the further consideration of the subject to the next session of Parliament.

A second year of delay being thus procured by the intrigues of interested avarice, the Bill for regulating the *Middle Passage* was renewed.

The Committee, at the same time, published a plate, representing the section of a slave-ship, with the Slaves stowed in it for the Middle Passage *. It presented a sight of horror, sufficient to convince the spectator, that, under whatever regulation, the conveyance of Slaves in our ships was a work of cruelty and profound barbarism.

* The original design of this engraving was made by the late Mr. Northcote, of Plymouth, a brother of the eminent painter. The present plate was improved by the most accurate dimensions of the vessels generally employed in the Slave Trade, as well as of the human bodies confined and manacled within them.

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During the interval of the parliamentary session, the zealous Clarkson, at the request of Mr. Wilberforce and the Committee, set out for Paris, in order to promote the interests of the *Abolition* with the National Assembly. He was there cordially received, and his proposals were seconded by men of the highest reputation; by Necker, Siéyes, Mirabeau, La Fayette, Condorcet, the Duke of Rochefoucauld, Claviere, Brissot, the Bishop of Chartres, and the Abbè Gregoire. Mirabeau prepared to make a motion in the National Assembly for the immediate abolition of the trade. But the same ingenious engines of malice were employed in France, as in England, to impede the success of the cause; and Mr. Clarkson was under the necessity of returning to attend the Committee in England, before any effectual step had been taken in Paris for the Abolition.

In the early part of the next session of Parliament (1790), Mr. Wilberforce renewed his motion for the consideration of the Slave Trade, and, not without opposition, obtained leave to establish a better mode of dispatch, in regard to the examination of evidence on the subject. The session ended without further advance in the great cause of humanity, and the Committee made their second Report, which they concluded by lamenting the powerful combination of interests against which they had to contend, and protesting against the false alarms which had been spread in public to impede and prevent their progress in so great a national concern.

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The labours of the Committee, during the period that ensued, were of the most arduous kind. They spared neither pains nor expense to procure fresh evidences in support of their cause, which they had now too much reason to consider as declining Their evidence was collected, printed, and circulated; and in April 1791, Mr. Wilberforce repeated his attempt in Parliament, and moved for leave to bring in a "Bill to prevent the farther Importation of Slaves into the British Colonies in the West Indies."

The discussion, however in itself favourable to the general object, was not crowned with the success that had been hoped. The motion was rejected by a majority of votes, and the Committee felt the severest and most painful mortification. But Mr. Wilberforce himself, and several other members of the House of Commons, had pledged themselves never to desert the great cause which they had undertaken; and the Committee, rousing itself from despondency, resumed its labours. They procured an abridgement of all the evidence that had been collected with such infinite pains, printed it in one volume, and circulated it throughout the kingdom. Its effects were nearly instantaneous. Mr. Clarkson, in traversing England at this time, found every where the great mass of inhabitants ardently embracing all the means in their power to aid the prospects of the Abolition. Among other means, an abstinence from the use of sugar (as the produce of the labour of slaves)

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became so general, that the number of those persons who wholly forbore even its occasional taste, amounted at one time to no less than three hundred thousand. Meetings were called, and petitions followed from all parts; three hundred and ten were presented from England, one hundred and eighty-seven from Scotland, and twenty from Wales.

On the 2d of April following (1792), Mr. Wilberforce made his fourth motion, to the further effect, "that the trade carried on by British subjects, for the purpose of obtaining slaves on the coast of Africa, ought to be abolished."

It was in the debate which ensued on this motion, that the arguments in favour of the Abolition were strengthened by the powerful evidence derived from the new settlement of Sierra Leone, and stated by Mr. H. Thornton, the Chairman, who ended his speech by remarking on the nature of this traffic in slaves: "It had," he said, "unfortunately obtained the name of *a trade*, and many had been deceived by the appellation; but it was a *war*, and *not trade:* it was a mass of *crimes*, and *not commerce:* it *alone prevented the introduction of trade* into Africa. He had found, in attempting to promote the establishment of a colony there, that it was an obstacle which opposed itself to him in innumerable ways. It created more embarrassments than all the natural impediments of the country, and was more hard to contend with than any difficulties of climate, soil, or

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natural disposition of the people." This representation had great weight; and the result of the discussion was, that "it was the opinion of the Committee that the trade ought to be gradually abolished."

On April the 23d, a Bill was accordingly introduced for the gradual abolition, which it was agreed, after a long debate, should take place in the year 1796*.

Early in the next session (1793), Mr. Wilberforce again brought forward his motion for the consideration of the subject; and afterwards, on May 14th, moved for the abolition of that part of the Slave Trade by which the British merchants supplied foreigners with slaves: but both these motions were negatived, and lost. The examination of evidence, however, by the Committee of Privy Council, continued.

In 1794, Mr. Wilberforce, who had now digested his plan of operations, renewed his motion for leave to bring in the Bill which he had proposed last year; and the Bill was carried in the Committee, but lost in the House of Lords.

From this period, Mr. Wilberforce appears to have rested his hopes on a steady perseverance in an

* The fervid earnestness of an unknown individual on this occasion should not be omitted. Two letters, preserved by the African Institution, whoever was the writer of them, do honour at least to his heart. In the first he offers an immediate payment of 5000*l.*, if the Slave Trade *can be at once abolished;* and in the second he *doubles* his offer to the same effect. The date of the former letter is April 10, 1792.

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annual renewal of his motion in favour of the Abolition. In 1795 he moved for leave to bring in "a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade." In the year 1796 he made a similar motion; but both were lost. Another Bill, proposed by Mr. Francis, for the amelioration of the condition of slaves in the West Indies, was rejected in a similar manner; but an Address was agreed on to his Majesty, that he would be pleased to order copies to be laid before the House, of all the Acts passed by the several Colonial Assemblies since 1788, relative to regulations in behalf of the slaves.

In 1797, a further address to his Majesty was carried, to give directions to the Governors of the West-India Islands to recommend to the Colonial Assemblies to make regulations for the improvement of the condition of slaves, and the gradual abolition of the Slave Trade.

In this year the Committee received a letter from the President of the Pennsylvanian Society for the Abolition of Slavery (Dr. Franklin), communicating a successful progress in America, and encouraging the Society to persevere in their efforts.

In 1798, Mr. Wilberforce again asked leave to renew his former "Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade in a limited time." In 1799 he repeated his effort. Both attempts were ineffectual.

Fresh efforts were now made to strengthen the cause, by considerations deduced from the new colony of Sierra Leone; and Mr. Thornton moved

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for "leave to propose the restriction of the Slave Trade within certain limits," exempting from it about one third of the African coast. But this Bill also, though it passed the Commons, was lost in the House of Lords, after a debate in which Dr. Horsley, bishop of Rochester, vindicated the Scriptures from the imputation of tolerating slavery.

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CHAP. IV.

AMIDST these repeated failures of the efforts made in Parliament to obtain the Abolition of the Slave Trade, it was evident that the powerful eloquence of Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, uniting in the production of irrefragable arguments against the continuance of the horrid traffic, had shaken it to the very foundation; and, notwithstanding the high rank of several of their opponents, and the talents of some few among them, strong hopes now arose that the cause of the Abolition was secretly gaining ground. It was therefore thought prudent to let the question rest for a time; and though Mr. Wilberforce annually moved for papers that might elucidate the subject, he forbore the renewal of his motion till the year 1804, when, the Union with Ireland having taken place, a new tribunal presented itself for the investigation of the subject. The Committee were not disappointed in their expectations from this *timing* of their measures. The Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade within a limited period passed in the House of Commons by a considerable majority; and in the House of Lords the discussion was merely postponed to the next session.

In the ensuing year, 1805, Mr. Wilberforce

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resumed his motion, and, to the disappointment and dismay of its friends, was unsuccessful. But its failure being discovered to have been owing to the accidental absence of such of its friends in the House of Commons as had conceived it to be secure of success, new efforts were made with alacrity for its support in the next session.

In the interval Mr. Pitt died (January 1806), and Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were called in to the Ministry. The subject was now brought before Parliament under new auspices, and it only remained to be proved whether the opinions which those persons had maintained when in Opposition, would be acted on when Ministers. Events soon proclaimed the sincerity of their professions. A Bill was brought into the House of Commons, by the Attorney-General *, for prohibiting the importation of slaves by British subjects, either into colonies conquered during the war (consistently with a Proclamation issued by his Majesty in a former year), or into any foreign colony, whether hostile or neutral; and also for preventing British subjects from carrying on a Slave Trade in neutral vessels, and from fitting out Foreign ships for British ports. This Bill passed both Houses; Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville declaring, in the respective debates, their strong sense of the importance of the question to the interests of humanity, and the claims of policy, justice,

* Sir Arthur Piggott.

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and religion; and their conviction that the accomplishment of the Abolition of the Slave Trade would be, of all other measures, the most glorious to their administration.

Mr. Fox next moved, on June 10th, "that the House, considering the Slave Trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for its abolition;" declaring, that "if he should succeed in *carrying through* this measure, he should think his life well spent, and should retire satisfied that he had not lived in vain."

The majorities were—in the House of Commons, 114 to 15; in the Lords, 41 to 20. In the former, after the resolution had passed, Mr. Wilberforce moved an "Address to his Majesty, that he would invite the co-operation of Foreign Powers in the same cause." The Address was also carried in both Houses; and, to prevent any interested abuse of the interval previous to a Bill for the actual Abolition, another Bill was introduced, to prevent any new vessels being employed in the trade.

The joy of this success was damped, in October, by the death of Mr. Fox. "Two things," said that great man on his death-bed, "I wish earnestly to see accomplished,—*Peace with Europe*, and *the Abolition of the Slave Trade:* but, of the two, I wish more the latter*."

* Clarkson's "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. ii. p. 567.

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In 1807, Lord Grenville brought into the House of Lords "a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade;" as if this great cause were due to no other hands than those of himself and Mr. Fox.

Counsel were heard against the Bill for four days; and on the fifth day commenced the ever-memorable debate, which secured the victory of humanity and religion over the agencies of the Great Enemy of human bliss. The majority was of 100 against 36.

On the 10th of February the triumph was completed in the House of Common, by a majority of 283 against 16.

A Committee of the whole House being then formed, a Bill was passed, "that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any port within the British dominions after the 1st of May of that year, 1807;" and that no Slave should be landed in the colonies after March 1, 1808. The Bill was passed on the 16th of March, and, by the strenuous exertions of Lord Grenville, was completed in all its forms, and confirmed by the Royal Assent, on Wednesday the 25th, a few minutes only before the Ministers resigned their respective offices, as they had been required to do by a message delivered to them that morning; the remaining interval of *a half hour* having been used to this glorious purpose,—to the accomplishment of an act which will live to latest posterity in the love, admiration, and gratitude of mankind!

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Such as have been here briefly described, were the long-protracted labours of an Association of benevolent men—the natives of all countries, the examples to all ages—in the support of human dignity. Nothing less than such a combination could have prevailed, to loose the deep-rooted grasp of human, or rather infernal, avarice. Nor could the extent of human wisdom have devised means more adapted to this end. It was necessary that a spring should be moved, which might affect the wheels of government and public action; and it was necessary that so important a spring should take its direction from the most solid and substantial base. The latter had been prepared by the efforts of the Association; the former was happily added in the virtues, political rank, and talents of Mr. Wilberforce, aided by his peculiar connections of friendly intimacy with the Prime Minister.

Admiration and reverence can seldom be directed to characters more honourable to the faculties of man, than theirs, whose names in this great cause stand for ever united—of Granville Sharp and William Wilberforce—of the one who founded, and the one who crowned, the work of African deliverance.

Of the advocates of the cause, in the Houses of Parliament, the numerous list contains nearly all who gave dignity to the age: the leaders of either

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party (as has been seen) stood in the front*. Of its opponents—let the memory fall to earth! Let us forbear to awaken feelings of contention now providentially laid to rest.

The lustre of Mr. Wilberforce's action was unclouded even for an instant: to the vulgar eye he seemed, like the *Manco-Capac* of the Peruvians, the child of light, to have descended from the Sun, in pity of human sufferings; and Hope followed his steps. Such is the bright and dazzling aspect of virtue, wherever she appears! His benevolent course found its security in minds already prepared for the admission of truth, and its success in hearts

* "Among the speakers in favour of the Abolition were, in the House of Lords, the Duke of Gloucester, the Dukes of Richmond and Norfolk; Marquis Townshend; the Earls of Buckinghamshire and Carlisle, Earls Grosvenor, Moira, Spencer, Stanhope, Selkirk, Rosslyn; the Bishops of London (Dr. Porteus), Durham (Dr. Barrington), St. Asaph (Dr. Horsley), Landaff (Dr. Watson); the Lords Grenville, Erskine, Holland, Loughborough, Ellenborough, King, Hood. In the House of Commons, Earl Percy, Lords Howick, Milton, H. Petty, Mahon, Carysfort, Mornington, De Blaquiere; Sir William Dolben, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir Robert Buxton, Sir James Johnstone, Sir Ralph Milbank, Sir Arthur Piggott, Sir John Newport, Sir John Doyle; General Vyse; Messrs. Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, Burke, Whitbread, Perceval, Beaufoy, Sheridan, W. Smith, Grigby, M. Montagu, Francis, J. Martin, H. Thornton, Roscoe, Canning, Bastard, Barham, Courtenay, Stanley, Wynne, Lyttelton, Ryder, L. Smith, Milnes, Hobhouse, Bouverie, Grenfell, Leigh, Huddlestone, Fawkes, Lushington, Ward, Jacob, Herbert, Burdon, Cocks," &c.—*See Clarkson's History of the Abolition.*

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already opened to those feelings which he exerted himself to inspire and improve.

Shame on the degraded mercenaries of an infamous and unnatural commerce, who attempt to undermine the basis which so much virtuous labour has prepared, and on which religion may hope to rear the beautiful fabric of human civilization! Shame, doubled shame, on the imbecile Governments—imbecile or perfidious—which hesitate to oppose the ægis of power to such attempts!

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CHAP. V.

LET us now return (as in the narrative of Sierra Leone) to such points of this awful and eternally honourable enterprise as particularly regard the venerable subject of these Memoirs. It has been fully shown, in an early part of them, with what earnest and persevering zeal he had endeavoured to prepare the minds of our Bishops and Archbishops to asisst an attempt at eradicating the almost criminal prejudices, which prevented the traffic in Slaves from appearing in its real light. His successful appeals gradually opened the way to that union of minds which proved at length so instrumental to its abolition. His first notice of the Association formed for that purpose is in a letter to his brother, dated 19th July, 1787.

"Leadenhall Street.

"A Society has lately been formed here, for the purpose of opposing the Slave Trade. Though the members are chiefly Quakers, I thought it my duty, when invited, to join them in so just a measure; and I wish, for the honour of the Church of England, that some of our dignified clergy would subscribe to it; and the more especially, as the Anabaptist Congregations, and some of the Methodists, are making collections for the same cause. I will send you some of the books which are distributed by this

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Society, the first opportunity. Perhaps Lord Crew's Trustees might allow something toward so good a work."

The merits of Mr. Sharp's preparatory labours were justly appreciated by the Society. From the first hour that the Committee was formed, he was, by a general sentiment of the members, regarded as their Chairman, and was addressed as such on every occasion of their meeting. But he would never consent to take the chair, although repeatedly pressed to do so. It appeared, therefore, to the Committee, to be suitable to the dignity of their cause, and to their sense of his exalted character, that they should, by a public expression of their wishes, overrule this singularity of feeling; and, accordingly, in one of the following meetings, they drew up a Resolution, by which GRANVILLE SHARP was appointed Chairman of the Committee, as "*father of the cause in England**."

But no external action could at any time make him swerve from a rule of conduct which he had once laid down for himself *as right to be pursued.* He felt warmly the honour of such a mark of respect; but he was no hypocrite in his wish to decline it. Although he felt, that, the office being assigned to him, he was bound by the resolution of the Committee to consider it as an object of his duty; and although, in consequence, he regularly (when in town)

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i.

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attended every meeting of the Society, and signed as Chairman every paper that was handed to him, he was never once *seated in the chair* during the long continuance of twenty years:—"conscious" (says Mr. Clarkson) "that he engaged in the cause of his fellow-creatures solely upon the sense of his duty as a Christian, he seemed to suppose, either that he had done nothing extraordinary to merit such a distinction, or to have been fearful lest the acceptance of it should bring a stain upon the motive, on which alone he undertook it *."

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i.

In another publication, before quoted, the same Author says, "In no one instance could Mr. Sharp be prevailed upon to take the chair. The writer of this article has attended above seven hundred Committees and Sub-Committees with him, and yet, though sometimes but few were present, he always seated himself at the end of the room; choosing rather to serve the glorious cause in humility through conscience, than in the character of a distinguished individual."

The solution of this apparent singularity will be partly found in the following extract from a letter to one of his brothers.

"The Committee associated for the Abolition of the Slave Trade have thought proper to choose me their Chairman, and much business has been done in my name, though I have never yet been in the chair, but have only signed the letters that have been sent to me; for I previously told the gentlemen, that it would be impossible for me to undertake any additional trouble; and they answered, that they would only desire the use of my name and signature, and would among themselves, in rotation, undertake to write all the letters. And they gave me a reason, which was excellent (being chiefly *Quakers*): they wished to lay aside every peculiarity which might seem to belong to a particular sect; for they hoped to have the Society

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The great extent of action into which he had entered previously to the formation of the Committee, in endeavouring to excite the feelings, and call forth the reason, of men in every branch of power in the state, to whom he could procure access, was now

consist of all denominations of Christians, and therefore they would write the letters just as if they were formed by myself. *This is a great concession.*"

That he also felt a real desire to avoid all appearance of individual distinction in the Committee, is evident from his reply to the following request from Lord Muncaster.—

To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " Muncaster House, 18th February, 1791.

" A print of our most admirable and excellent friend, Mr. Wilberforce, is nearly finished, from a picture he was so good as to sit for at my solicitation; and as I do not know to whom, with so much public propriety and gratification, it could possibly be dedicated, as to you, Sir, and the Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, I beg leave to solicit your permission that it may be so....I felt it to be an attention due on my part to apply for your approbation, before I gave the order for its being done. With the fullest esteem," &c.

" MUNCASTER."

G. S. in reply.

" My Lord, " 27th August, 1791.

" The Gentlemen of the Committee concur in approving your Lordship's proposal for the dedication of Mr. Wilberforce's portrait. As for myself, I have so sincere a respect for the general character and abilities of Mr. Wilberforce, that I cannot think myself worthy to be mentioned expressly by name in the dedication of his picture, but only in my office of Chairman —' To the Chairman and Committee,' &c. &c.—though perhaps there would be more propriety in dedicating merely ' To the Society;' or, perhaps, ' To the *several Societies* assembled throughout the Kingdom,' &c. &c."

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no longer incumbent on him. The zeal which he had so strenuously laboured to communicate, now burned in the bosoms of thousands, of all of whom the *Committee* might be said to be the representatives, or especial delegates; and, in his appointment to the chair, he seemed only to receive a commission to watch and guard the holy flame which he had kindled *.

But the views announced by the Society, in their

* The respect attached to his character in this situation is impressively shewn in a letter of reply from Mr. Wilberforce, in the year 1792.

[EXTRACT.]

" My dear Sir, " Old Palace Yard, April 17.

" I daily become, if possible, more and more strongly impressed with a conviction of the utter wickedness and cruelty of the Slave Trade; and it is my determined purpose, so long as it shall please God to spare me health and strength, never to relax in my efforts for its abolition. Still keeping my eye fixed on this great object, I will ever take such steps as shall appear to me likely to conduct us most speedily to its attainment; and I need hardly say, I shall at all times be happy to receive the Committee's free and unreserved advice.

" I cannot conclude, without begging you, my dear Sir, to accept my thanks for the obliging terms in which you have made this communication; and I am happy in the opportunity it affords me of expressing the unfeigned esteem and regard I have long entertained for you. When I call to mind that I am addressing the gentleman who led the way in this glorious struggle wherein we are engaged, I think I feel towards you somewhat of the respectful reverence of a son; whilst I am sure, I am conscious of all the affection of a brother.

" Believe me, my dear Sir, most sincerely yours,

" W. WILBERFORCE."

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adoption of the title which they assumed, did not correspond with the hopes which his capacious mind had formed, and he could not admit the diminution of them without a struggle. The vast object of his benevolence,—the abolition of slavery throughout the world,—appeared to him to be at stake. He feared it might be compromised by the adoption of subordinate measures; and, while he accepted the honour designed for him, the ardour of his character, the zeal of his heart, and the profound interest of his feelings in the sufferings of humanity, all pressed forward and burst impetuously forth. He rose in the Committee, and expressed himself with vehemence on the *criminal* forbearance of all who declined to engage in the great duty of associating for the Abolition of Slavery, as well as of the Slave Trade.

Mr. Clarkson has recorded the discussion which took place at this meeting *; and the following anecdote is added from the same authority.—Of ten persons who were present, Granville stood *singly* for including the abolition of slavery in the title of the Society. "As *slavery*," he asserted, "was as much a crime against the Divine laws as the *Slave Trade*, it became the Committee to exert themselves equally against the continuance of both; and he did not hesitate to pronounce all present *guilty before God*, for shutting those, who were then slaves all the world

* "History of the Abo' ion," vol. i. p. 282, &c.

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over, out of the pale of their approaching labours." He delivered this, his protest against their proceedings, in the energetic manner usual to him when roused on the subject, — with a loud voice, a powerful emphasis, and both hands lifted up towards Heaven. Finding, however, that he could not produce any alteration in the views of the Committee *, he showed no further disposition to differ from it. Unable to effect the whole of his wishes (which he relinquished with regret, and *but for a while*,) he felt satisfied that he had delivered his testimony against the proceedings which circumscribed them, and from that hour proved himself thoroughly desirous to aid, to his utmost ability, the *part* which he found could be undertaken with greater and more general consent. So strongly again, in this instance, was marked his distinctive character: extensive in his ideas, enthusiastic in his conceptions, vehement in his efforts; temperate, prudent, earnest in his performance.

It was very early recommended to him by the Committee to keep up a frequent intercourse with the Bishop of London (Dr. Porteus), who had expressed the most favourable sentiments of their design, and an earnest desire of joining their labours.

* The Committee acknowledged the criminality in both cases (Slavery and Slave Trade), but kept steady to the *Abolition of the Trade only*, as the main root; from a belief that, if both were attempted, neither of them would be carried.—*From Mr. Clarkson.*

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He, therefore, placing his accustomed reliance on the operation of Christian principles, hastened to call into action, in behalf of their endeavours for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, whatever interest he had raised among the Dignitaries of the Church for the more general cause which he had pleaded.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London.

[EXTRACT].

" My Lord, " Wicken Park, Bucks, 31st August, 1787.

" Just before I left London, I received a letter from Dr. Franklin, Governor of Pennsylvania, addressed to me in the name of a new American Society, (of which he is President,) established for the charitable purpose of abolishing the Slave Trade; earnestly exhorting me, in very strong but polite terms, to continue my endeavours against that abominable traffic. A Society has been also lately instituted in London for the same purpose, the members of which intend to promote a Bill in Parliament, early in the next session, for prohibiting the African Slave Trade.

" The Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom I communicated the subject, has assured me of his hearty desire to oppose that trade; and on a former occasion, some years ago, I obtained similar promises from nineteen other Bishops; and I flatter myself that your Lordship, and many others, of the Lay Peers, will very readily concur in this common cause of humanity. But my hopes with respect to the House of Commons are not so sanguine, though Mr. Wilberforce, and several other respectable members, have already declared an earnest desire to abolish the Slave Trade. " With the greatest respect and esteem,

" My Lord," &c. &c.

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The following letter is of the same nature.

* *G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Cloyne. (Dr. Woodward.)*

"My Lord, "Leadenhall Street, London, 16th Feb. 1788.

"The just sentiments concerning the gross iniquity of the African Slave Trade, as well as the impolicy of it, so forcibly and unanswerably asserted in your Lordship's letter to your worthy friend Dr. Bever, having been communicated by me (with the Doctor's permission) to the Committee of the Society instituted in London for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, I am desired by the Committee to inform your Lordship, that your hearty concurrence with them in sentiment, and full approbation of the purposes for which their Society was instituted, have given them the most sincere satisfaction; and that they have enrolled your Lordship's name in their Society, as an honorary and corresponding member, that their cause and design may be promoted by your Lordship's abilities and influence.

"The Marquis de la Fayette, a nobleman of great fortune, and very considerable influence in the Court of France, has, by his friend the Chevalier de Ternant, now in England, signified his earnest desire to establish a Society in France on the same principles as our own; and has expressed his hopes, that if both France and England should really lay aside the infamous traffic, all

* The generality of letters from the Society were written by different members of the Committee (principally Messrs. Clarkson, Dilwyn, Lloyd, Harrison, Phillips, Woods, &c.), and merely received Mr. Sharp's signature as Chairman. Some few, on particular occasions, were written by himself. The rough draft of the present letter is among his MS. papers.

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other nations would probably follow so good an example. These two benevolent strangers were entered on the list of our society, as honorary and corresponding members, at the same time with your Lordship.

"Whether any ships for the Slave Trade have ever been sent from any of the Irish ports of late years, I am not at all informed; but if the Parliament of Great Britain should really prohibit the trade from the ports of England and Scotland, some precaution will be necessary to prevent our Liverpool and Bristol slave-mongers from transferring their iniquitous traffic to Irish ports, especially as the distinct legislative rights of Ireland are now so justly and amply acknowledged.

"A prohibition, therefore, of the Slave Trade, by the distinct Legislature of Ireland, concurrent with what is the national voice, or present demand, from the Parliament of Great Britain, or, if possible, to have the honour even of preceding, or anticipating, that British act of justice, is a step very desirable, and seemingly necessary, to prevent our unnatural hardened slave-dealers from evading the intended British prohibition, by sheltering their inhumanity under the distinct privileges of the Irish nation.

"With this idea, I beg leave to submit to your Lordship's better judgment the propriety of exerting your interest and influence amongst your friends, and more especially with the Bishops and other members of the Irish Parliament, for promoting the above-mentioned necessary measure.

"Your Lordship already entertains so just a sense of the iniquity as well as unprofitableness of slavery, that it would be superfluous in me to urge or write any thing farther to yourself on that head: yet, for the sake of making a deeper impression on the minds of your friends

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in Ireland, I trust you will excuse my reminding you of a very ancient testimony against slavery by the Archbishop and Bishops of Ireland, at the first council of Armagh, in the reign of King Henry II., when the venerable prelates and clergy of almost all Ireland, after proclaiming liberty to the English slaves, declared their apprehensions and belief that the miseries, with which their island was then afflicted, were really the effects of God's wrath for *having tolerated slavery among them!*

"With the greatest respect, my Lord," &c. &c.

The Chevalier de Ternant, mentioned in the last letter, procured an introduction to Mr. Sharp in the beginning of the year 1788, at the request of the Marquis de la Fayette, whose wishes he was charged to communicate to him for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and for an union of the Governments of France and England to that effect. Mr. Sharp referred him to Mr. Wilberforce, and at the same time entered into correspondence with La Fayette; and the names of the Marquis and his friend were consequently enrolled among the honorary correspondents of the Society.

His intercourse with Brissot, Lanthenas, and others of the National Revolutionists, commenced shortly afterwards, from the same source.

It has been mentioned in the preceding pages, that, when Mr. Wilberforce was prevented by illness from making the first proposed motion in Parliament in behalf of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, Mr. Pitt unexpectedly took that arduous part on himself,

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and introduced the subject to the notice of the House of Commons. Previously, however, (having pledged himself to so great a national duty) he thought it requisite to investigate the views and character of the Association to which he was to lend his support: he therefore requested the attendance of the Chairman of the Committee. Mr. Sharp waited on him, in obedience to his command; and, as we are informed in the "History of the Abolition," reported to the Committee, that he had been allowed to explain fully to Mr. Pitt, that the desire of the Society extended to *the total abolition of the Slave Trade;*— that Mr. Pitt had assured him of his cordial participation in the wishes of the Society; but observed, that the subject was of great national importance, and that it was requisite to proceed with temper and prudence; adding, that, as the examination before the Privy Council would take up some time, he apprehended that the subject could not be fully investigated in that session of Parliament, and he should therefore propose the farther consideration of it in the ensuing session.

In the arduous contest for national character and human privileges, to which this subject gave rise, it was remarkable, that the great Statesman above mentioned, who was then at the head of the Administration, was found, on each parliamentary division, *in the minority; his speeches* and *his vote* being uniformly *in favour* of the Abolition, and those of the party *which generally obeyed his voice* as uniformly

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on the other side. To read the heart, is in the power of One Being alone; but the recollection of some few circumstances, which regard the real springs of action in so singular a procedure, may not be uninteresting.

Mr. Pitt appears to have first directed his attention to the subject of the Slave Trade early in the year 1788—probably at the instigation of his friend Mr. Wilberforce; on whose recommendation Mr. Clarkson, who had zealously collected information of the most useful kind on the subject, was permitted to have an interview with the Minister. In that interview Mr. Pitt expressed his doubts as to the *reality* of the treatment of the slaves, as well as of the mortality of the seamen in the trade, and also as to the riches, genius, and abilities of the African people. "Mr. Pitt," says Mr. Clarkson, "appeared to me to have then but little knowledge of the subject." To elucidate these points, therefore, Mr. Clarkson was desired to wait again on him the next day, with such proofs as he could bring of all that he had stated. "At the time appointed," continues Mr. Clarkson, "I went, with my books, papers, and African productions. Mr. Pitt examined the former himself. He turned over leaf after leaf, in which the copies of the muster-rolls were contained, with great patience; and when he had looked over above a hundred pages accurately, and found the name of every seaman inserted—his former abode or service—the time of his entry—and what had become

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of him, either by death, discharge, or desertion—he expressed his surprise at the great pains which had been taken in this branch of the inquiry, and confessed, with some emotion, that his doubts were wholly removed with respect to the destructive nature of the employ; and he said, moreover, that the facts contained in these documents, if they had been but fairly copied, could never be disproved."

"He was equally astonished at the various *woods*, and other productions of Africa, but most of all at the manufactures of the Natives in cotton, leather, gold, and iron, which were laid before him. These he handled and examined over and over again. On the sight of these, *many sublime thoughts seemed to rush in upon him* at once; some of which he expressed, with observations becoming a great and a dignified mind. He thanked me for the light I had given him on many of the branches of this great question; and I went away under a certain conviction that I had left him much impressed in our favour *."

Mr. Sharp's Notes confirm these sentiments:—

MS.—'1788. April 21. Waited on Mr. Pitt at 'one o'clock. Mr. Pitt said, "his heart was with 'us; that he had pledged himself to Mr. Wilber-'force that the cause should not suffer' [during his

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. i. chap. 22.

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indisposition], 'but believed that the best way would 'be to give time to collect all possible evidence, and 'to obtain an order of the present session (if the 'rules of the House would permit, of which he would 'inform himself) to resume the business early in the 'next session."'

The circumstance of Mr. Sharp's interview with the Minister may also assist in illustrating the following anecdote, related by Mr. Clarkson.—

"The way in which Mr. Pitt became acquainted with this question has already been explained: a few doubts having been removed, when it was first started, he professed himself *a friend to the Abolition.* The first proof which he gave of his friendship to it, is known but to few; but it is nevertheless true, that so early as in 1788 he occasioned a communication to be made to the French Government, in which he recommended an union of the two countries for the promotion of the great measure *."

It can scarcely be doubted, that during Mr. Sharp's conversation with Mr. Pitt, he had not neglected to mention the correspondence, into which the Society had entered with men of considerable personal influence in France. His own intercourse with them, in particular, as the champion of the African cause, and the overtures which he had received from that

* "History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade," vol. ii. chap. 9.

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country on the subject*, were calculated to give a strong appearance of plausibility to the proposal which Mr. Pitt is stated to have made †.

An occurrence about this time, already alluded to ‡, while it shows Mr. Sharp's strict attention to his official duty, presents a further instance of his

* One of the letters from the Chevalier de Ternant to Mr. Sharp, dated 28th February 1788, expresses a desire that, "independent of the intended (Mr. Wilberforce's) parliamentary motion, an address to the King should be moved for, requesting his Majesty *to propose to* and *enter with* the King of France, and other interested Powers, into such arrangements as may facilitate the Abolition of the Slave Trade," &c.—*Correspondence.*

† In further justice to Mr. Pitt's character, it is requisite to state an additional testimony, given by Mr. Clarkson, in noticing the event of his death. After expressing that "he took an active, strenuous, and consistent part in the cause year after year,"—"in my own private communications with him" (he adds), "which were frequent, he never failed to give proofs of a similar disposition. I had always free access to him. I had no previous note or letter to write for admission. Whatever papers I wanted, he ordered. He exhibited also, in his conversation with me on these occasions, marks of a more than ordinary interest in the welfare of the cause. Among the subjects which were then stated, there was one which was always near his heart: this was, *the civilization of Africa.* He looked upon this great work as a debt due to that continent, for the many injuries we had inflicted upon it; and had *the Abolition succeeded sooner,* as in *the infancy of his exertions he had hoped, I know he had a plan,* suited no doubt to the capaciousness of his own mind, for such establishments in Africa as he conceived would promote in due time this important end."

‡ Vol. i. p. 370.

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aversion to take to himself any merit in which others might be induced to share.

The captain of a merchant-ship, trading to the Bay of Honduras, had picked up at sea, from the wreck of a Spanish ship, two Black men—the one a free native of Antigua, who had served in the Royal Navy; the other a Spanish Negro—and he now detained them on board his ship in the river Thames, and refused to release them, or to give them up. They found means of application to Mr. Sharp, and it was easy to him to liberate them. He well knew the proper means to be employed to acquire their liberty and their gratitude. But it was now requisite to be no longer individually distinguished as the advocate for their rights. He brought the case to the Treasurer of the Society, *on whose report* it was resolved that the cause of the unfortunate captives should be espoused by the Committee. The *Chairman* was accordingly desired to cause a writ of Habeas Corpus to be served upon them; and he soon reported that they were at liberty.

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CHAP. VI.

But the energy of Mr. Sharp's activity, in the assertion of human freedom, and in behalf of the oppressed in all conditions, however it might be modified by his situation in respect to the Society, was not diminished by it. Although strictly adhering to his especial duties as Chairman of the Committee in all acts of the Society, he did not, in his individual capacity, limit his opposition of slavery to their operations solely. The following note and letters are instances of his continued zeal and vigilance during the general labours of the Committee. Of the memorandum annexed to the last of the letters, the immediate cause does not appear: its contents coincide with what has been related of his views and wishes with regard to the Slave Trade and Slavery; and it is, perhaps, the testimony which he wished to bequeath to posterity, of his unchanged sentiments on the subject.

MS.—'1792. October 20. Called at Lambeth 'on the Archbishop. Mentioned my concern that 'the House of Lords should make a question about 'abolishing the Slave Trade, as they ought to know

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'the *foundations* of law*, and that no power on 'earth has legal authority to give sanction to such 'enormities.'

G. S. to his Grace the Archbishop of ———.

"My Lord, "Garden Court, Temple, 7th June, 1793.

"Though I have already had ample reason to be convinced that your Grace's humanity and benevolence have always sufficiently engaged your attention towards the promotion of the general endeavours that have hitherto been made for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, yet I think it my duty to your Grace, and indeed I am further urged also by the Committee of the Society for the Abolition, to solicit a very particular attention to Mr. Wilberforce's present Bill for preventing British subjects from supplying Foreign plantations with Slaves; because this Bill affords not only probable means of saving many thousand lives, but will also, we think, facilitate the future general abolition of *the trade*, by cutting off a considerable part of the interested opposition against us, if the Bill should be passed. As very few Peers, at the present moment, make a majority in the House of Lords, and as our interested opponents will probably be very assiduous in urging the attendance of the Lords that are inclined to favour them, the Committee think it of great importance to our cause that the *Spiritual Lords* in particular, on whose humanity and religious attention to this business they

* "The two foundations of the English Law (or two witnesses of God) are, *the Law of Reason*, and *the Law of God* or *the Holy Scriptures*; more briefly expressed by *Natural and Revealed Religion*."—*Extract from a Letter to a Gentleman in Maryland.*

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place the highest confidence, should be aware that an accidental absence from a thin House may occasion the loss of this desirable Bill; and therefore I humbly presume to suggest to your Grace, that the Bishops who may happen to be prevented from attending when it is carried into the House of Lords, should be requested to leave their proxies with your Grace, or with any Bishop friendly to our cause, who may be able to attend its progress. This plan I have ventured to submit particularly to your Grace's consideration, because no other Peer can so easily or so properly promote it as yourself, if you think it right. As to myself, it is not merely the *Abolition of the Slave Trade* for which I am anxiously solicitous, but also, very particularly, that this great question of humanity and justice may be principally supported and carried by a decided majority of the Bishops, for the honour of the Church of England; because the eyes of the whole nation, including every other religious persuasion, are also equally intent upon the same subject, and expect a just decision.—I have enclosed a printed copy of a letter which I wrote about four months ago, in answer to one which I received from the Secretary of a Society for relieving oppressed Negroes in Maryland, much to the same effect as the letter to King Naimbanna, which I had the honour to present to your Grace some time ago; but as this printed letter includes several objects not strictly comprehended within the plan of our English Society (which extends not to the abolition of Slavery, but only of the *Slave Trade*), it is necessary that I should remark, that the printed letter is presented by myself, merely as a private individual, without any authority or concurrence of the Committee.

"With the greatest respect and esteem,

"My Lord," &c. &c.

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G. S. to William Wilberforce, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " March 4, 1794.

" I am informed, by a friend, that there is a clause in the Bill ' for abolishing the Trade carried on for supplying Foreign Territories with Slaves,' which may enable the West-Indian planters to bring their domestic slaves with them to England with impunity, and still hold them in bondage in this country, provided they previously obtained a licence from the Governor of the Island from whence the slaves were shipped; whereby the poor Black servants may be compelled to return to the West Indies into slavery, at the will and pleasure of their masters; or, at least, it is apprehended that the clause is capable of being twisted to such a construction by the usual sophistry of lawyers. As I am very anxious that all pretence for any such construction should be entirely excluded, I must earnestly entreat you to introduce (if possible) some short saving clause, declaratory of the just and efficacious principles of the English Law and Constitution, lately acknowledged by Lord Mansfield himself, in my hearing, for the annihilation of slavery in England.

" The saving clause may be to this effect: that ' nothing in this Act shall be construed to affect, or alter, the generally-acknowledged judgment and doctrine of the King's courts of law in Great Britain and Ireland—viz. that *the moment a foreign slave sets foot on British ground, he becomes free.*' It would, perhaps, be superfluous to add, that our rivers and harbours also equally partake of this salutary influence of English law, by being within the same jurisdiction. As a proof of this, I have released a considerable number of poor Negro Slaves myself, at different times, from confinement on ship-board, and two of them even from the Downs, by writs of Habeas

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Corpus; so that the British Channel, without doubt, has equal privilege; and the Admiralty Courts will assert also the freedom of their jurisdiction on the British seas.

"It is now twenty-seven years since I first asserted the illegality of slavery in England, and have since, from time to time, succeeded (God be thanked!) in re-establishing the ancient efficacy of the English laws against slavery. It would therefore be a very grievous injury *to the public*, if the advocates for slavery should really gain any advantage by this well-intended Bill, introduced by the friends of justice and humanity.

"With great esteem, dear Sir," &c. &c.

G. S. to the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, President of the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West Indies.

[EXTRACT.]

"My Lord, "January, 1795.

"I had wished to have left in your Lordship's hands, together with the enclosed proposals *, a memorial against the iniquity and danger of tolerating slavery in the British colonies; but I since find, by the copy of the Charter which your Lordship has been pleased to send me, that the names of ——— ——— and of ——— ——— are included in the list of trustees;—persons (howsoever respectable in all other points of view) who have uniformly opposed all honest endeavours to abolish the Slave Trade —(as if the dishonest gains of an infamous traffic, or the imaginary necessity or expediency of promoting at any rate the national commerce and revenue, could possibly justify the subversion of all the fundamental principles of

* The offer of Fairsted estate. See note in p. 198.

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natural equity; or as if the mammon of unrighteousness might honestly be balanced against the constitutional limitations of a legal government);—so that I am well aware, that even the most forcible remonstrance in behalf of indispensable righteousness, though declared with the tongues of men and angels, would have been utterly ineffectual with persons accustomed to sophisticate all just ideas of right, and to confound all distinctions between good and evil, by an implicit obedience to the doctrines of political necessity, contrary to an indispensable maxim of the English Constitution, '*Melius est omnia mala pati, quam malo consentire:*' much less might I expect that my poor remonstrance in behalf of our constitutional laws could have had any weight with persons in such habits of thinking. I have not, therefore, much cause to regret the withdrawing all that I had urged on that head to your Lordship, as President of the Incorporated Society.

"But, in this separate private address to your Lordship, I hope I may still express my earnest wishes that the principles, at least, of the remonstrance against slavery in my former letter, may incline your Lordship to form, in better language and more methodical arguments, a proper statement of the great injustice, and consequently of the great *national danger*, of tolerating slavery in any part of the British dominions, contrary to the constitutional principles of a legal English Government. . . . . I am the more anxious for a timely remonstrance from your Lordship (not for the public eye, but at first only) to a select body of the Bishops, in such a manner as your Lordship shall think most prudent, that they may be induced to join in a forcible representation of our danger, and of the real necessity for a thorough reformation in political as well as personal morality; which loyal exertion in behalf

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of indispensable righteousness will be not only better received by all parties from that most respectable body of men, but also, I am sure, will be effectual; and may, perhaps, be the means of securing to us a long continuation of our pure Episcopal Church, whatsoever awful changes may happen in other mere political establishments. Or even if only four Bishops should be found of sufficient resolution to unite in a loyal protest against this destructive iniquity of slavery, and 'to stand in the gap for the land,' like the four resolute princes of Israel in the same just cause (an opposition to slavery), they would certainly be at least as successful. . . . . .

"I need not urge to your Lordship the scriptural doctrine, that 'the Throne is established by righteousness,' or the plain result, that no Throne can be durably established without it; but I have reason to urge (according to an ancient maxim of our Constitutional Law, 'Ordo episcoporum est robur reipublicæ'), that your sacred order has really more effectual power to restore and maintain that necessary *saving righteousness*, for the security and peace of your country, by firm and united remonstrances or protests, from time to time, against every infringement of the two first foundations of English law (natural and revealed religion), than any other order or human power in the kingdom; whereby is incurred, indeed, (whenever such warnings are omitted) a most awful personal responsibility on your order more than on any other.

"If this truly loyal measure of protesting against the public iniquities of the State, which I earnestly recommend to those eminent persons whose sacred dignity and venerable character peculiarly qualify them for giving the most effectual warnings of God's judgments, be much longer delayed, our annual public fasts (while our most notorious national iniquities are suffered year after year

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to pass uncensured) must bear much too exact a resemblance to those obnoxious fasts, described by the princely Prophet Isaiah as so many additional provocations to the vengeance of the Almighty! For we are expressly required, even in that very remonstrance of Isaiah, to 'undo the heavy burthens, and to let the oppressed go free.' Let us also remember the remarkable testimony of the ancient Bishops of Ireland, at the first council of Armagh,—alas! when it was too late to avert the evil which had fallen on their nation!

"With sincere esteem and respect, my Lord,"

&c. &c.

MEMORANDUM. [*No Date.*]

"Having been required by the Committee of the Society in London, instituted for effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, to sign, officially and singly with my name, their late Resolutions in answer to the charges of ————, Esq.; I think it right to declare, with respect to myself *individually*, that, though I have carefully maintained the principles and orders of that Society, in every transaction wherein I have been concerned as a member of it, ever since it was formed in the year 1787; and have always strictly limited my official endeavours to the single declared object of the institution, '*the Abolition of the Slave Trade*;' yet I am bound, in reason and common justice to mankind, further to declare, that many years (at least twenty) before the Society was formed, I thought, and ever shall think, it my duty to expose the monstrous impiety and cruelty (impious and cruel being the due epithets fixed by an allowed maxim of the law on such iniquity) not only of the Slave Trade, but also of *Slavery itself*, in whatever form it is favoured: and likewise to assert, that no authority on earth can ever render such

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enormous iniquities legal; but that the Divine retribution (the '*measure* for *measure*' so clearly denounced in the holy Scriptures) will inevitably pursue every government, or legislature, that shall presume to establish, or even to tolerate, such abominable injustice*. I should forfeit all title to true loyalty as an Englishman, did I not continue the same fixed detestation of slavery which I have publicly avowed for about thirty years past; but my declarations on that head were always intended as friendly warnings against the obvious and ordinary consequences of that unchristian oppression, slavery; but surely not to *excite* those fatal consequences,—for that would be superfluous, as they are in themselves but too sure and inevitable, unless timely amendment should avert them.

"GRANVILLE SHARP."

On the final success of the advocates for the Abolition, when the welcome tidings were brought to Mr. Sharp, he is said to have immediately fallen on his knees, in devotion and gratitude to his Creator. On this record it is fit to add the comment of one who was best qualified to judge of the emotions of his heart, and of the action to which it is probable that they gave birth: "I do not doubt that he did so; but it must have been in *the deepest retirement*."

* See a "Representation of the Injustice of tolerating Slavery," "The Law of Retribution," and other Tracts against Slavery, printed in 1776, and since that time. See also the "*Additional Notes*."

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CHAP. VII.

THE novel example of a man, who, combating with unsparing severity every deviation from the Established Church of England, had yet refused to accept of a valuable preferment in that Church; and who asserted, on all public occasions, the sovereign and indispensable authority of Christ and the Scriptures over the politics of states and princes; could not fail to co-operate powerfully with the other moral causes, which at that time turned back the reflecting part of Europe from the contagion of infidelity and atheism, to the more salutary paths of religious order.

BIBLE SOCIETY.

A spirit, directed to the reform of public sentiment, manifested itself in the rise of institutions for the advancement of Revealed Truth. Among these, the first *Bible Society* appeared in the year 1780, and announced its intention to oppose the rapid progress of "decay in piety and religion," and "to preserve among the people, especially the Navy and Army, a sense of duty and a spirit of devotion."

For these purposes, the Society diligently proceeded to settle such correspondences with all the sea-ports in the British dominions as should ensure

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a distribution of Bibles, adequate to all demands, among the sailors of his Majesty's Navy. Equal attention was paid to the Army; and the numbers distributed soon amounted to many thousands. Mr. Sharp appears among the liberal supporters of the institution *.

This society, after a lapse of a few years, was succeeded by another under a similar title, and with views of a similar nature, but formed on enlarged grounds and a more extensive scale. This is the well-known *British and Foreign Bible Society*, established in 1804 †.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The circumstances which gave birth to this society are stated, in the "History of its Establishment," to have been the general want of Bibles among the poorer classes in Wales, and the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply from any of the religious societies then existing. The necessity of resorting

* * *To Granville Sharp, Esq.*

"Sir, "Finch Lane, 7th August, 1782.

"I take the liberty to thank you, in the name of the Bible Society, for your generous subscription to that useful institution, and enclose one of the Society's bills, where you will find the sum you have subscribed affixed to your name.

"I am, very respectfully, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"A. MARTIN."

† The former Bible Society has since assumed the title of "The Naval and Military Bible Society."

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to some new and powerful method of remedying this deficiency having been strongly urged in a meeting of *the Religious Tract Society* (in December 1802), the first proposal for a general dispersion of the Scriptures throughout the world was there suggested *. Inquiries were next directed to be made, both on the continent and in every part of the united kingdom, respecting the wishes and wants of the poor in regard to religious instruction, and the degree in which those wants had been hitherto supplied.

An "association of Christians at large" being consequently proposed, "with a view exclusively to the circulation of the holy Scriptures," a plan was drawn up to that effect, and a public meeting was convened by a circular address, relative to the formation of a Society, whose object should be, "to promote the dispersion of the Scriptures in some of the principal living languages, first over the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and afterwards remoter regions, as the state of the finances may admit, or the urgency of particular cases may require."

The appointed meeting was held on the 7th of March 1804, and the Society was then instituted under its present title; a liberal subscription commencing at the same time for its support. The meeting consisted of members of the Established

* The proposition originated with the Rev. Joseph Hughes, a Baptist Minister, and one of the secretaries to the present society.

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Church, and of Dissenters of every description (including Quakers); and a Committee was formed, composed in a similar manner, of Laymen, Churchmen, and Dissenting Ministers.

A general meeting of the subscribers and friends of the institution being again called on the 2d of May, in order to revise the plans of the Society, the Reports of the Committee were read, and the constitution, as amended by the Committee, received the sanction of the general body*. Lord Teignmouth was then elected president; and a Prospectus was published, declaratory of the views of the Society †.

* In the revision of the plans, the Committee was remodelled It was determined that it should consist exclusively of *laymen*, to the number of thirty-six; six of whom should be Foreigners, resident in or near the metropolis; and of the remaining thirty, one half should be members of the Established Church, and the other half members of other denominations of Christians. The Clergy and Ministers in general, who were members of the Society, were at all times to have a seat and vote in the Committee.—*See History of the Bible Society*, vol. i. p. 58.

† The following are the first two articles in the Laws and Regulations of the Society.—

"1. The designation of the Society shall be, The British and Foreign Bible Society; of which the sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the holy Scriptures, without note or comment. The only copies in the language of the united kingdom to be circulated by the Society, shall be the Authorised Version.

"2. This Society shall add its endeavours to those employed by other Societies for circulating the Scriptures through the British dominions; and shall also, according to its ability, extend its influence to other countries, whether Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan."—Ibid. p. 74.

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The institution was soon afterwards strengthened by the patronage of the Bishops of London and Durham, and by the accession of the Bishops of Exeter and St. David's to the office of Vice-Presidents.

As the establishment of the Bible Society is still in active progress, and an authorised History of its transactions has been given to the world by the late Rev. Mr. Owen *, it is unnecessary here to enter into any further detail. The part which Mr. Sharp took in the Society is also found in Mr. Owen's History. His name stands first in the list of those who signed the circular notice for convening the first public meeting; and it was the sight of his name that called the historian's attention and desire to the proposed object.

"At this Meeting," says Mr. Owen, "amounting to about three hundred persons, of different religious denominations, Mr. Granville Sharp was unanimously called to the chair; and so strongly w s he impressed with the importance of the object, that, notwithstanding his almost unconquerable aversion to occupy a place which implied such distinction, he obeyed the unanimous call, and presided accordingly †."

He again presided at the second general meeting,

* "History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society."

† Ibid. vol. i. pp. 36 and 38.

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on the 2d of May of the same year, when the constitution of the Society was finally determined *.

The First Report of the Society contains the following letter :—

Lord Teignmouth, President, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Sir, " Clapham, January 9, 1805.

" It is with the sincerest satisfaction, I execute the instructions of the Committee of the Bible Society, in returning their most cordial thanks to you, for the very valuable collection of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters, in different languages, which you have presented to them.

" I cannot, indeed, but feel a peculiar gratification in the opportunity thus afforded me of expressing the sense entertained by the Committee, of the great value of the donation itself, as well as of the high estimation in which they hold the donor.

" That Providence may long continue to you, with every

* " History of the Bible Society." vol i. p. 61.

" In Granville Sharp, who presided at the Society's formation," adds Mr. Owen, " the cause obtained a temporary patron, in whom the members of the Establishment acknowledged a true Churchman, and real Christians of every denomination a friend and a brother. Perhaps it would not have been possible to find, throughout the British dominions, a man in whom the qualities requisite for the first Chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society were so completely united as they were in this venerable philanthropist. A churchman in faith, in charity a universalist, he stamped upon the institution, while it was yet tender, those characters which suited its constitution and its end; and while he made it respected by the sanction of his name, he improved it by the influence of his example."—*Page* 83.

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blessing, the enjoyment of a life which you have adorned no less by your talents than your virtues, is the unanimous wish of all, and of none more sincerely than of him who has the honour to subscribe himself, with the greatest regard and esteem, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"TEIGNMOUTH."

The collection alluded to in the President's letter contained nearly forty different printed versions of the Bible and New Testament, either whole or in parts *.

		DATE.
*ARABIC.....	New Testament, published by Erpenius. Small 4to. *Leiden.*	1616
	Psalter. 4to. ..... *Rome.*	1519
BATAVIAN (or *Dutch*)	Old and New Testament. Small 8vo.	1608
	New Testament. 24mo.	1699
	New Testament, with French and English Versions. 12mo.	1684
CALEDONIAN (or *Scotch Gaelic*).....	New Testament, with Rules for reading that Language at the end. 8vo.	1767
EGYPTIAN (or *Coptic*) and LATIN.....	Pentateuch (curâ D. Wilkins). 4to.	1731
ETHIOPIC & LATIN	Psalter (curâ Ludolphi). 4to. ...	1701
ERSE (or *Irish*).....	English Liturgy, in Saxon character. At the end are the elements of the Irish language, 8vo.	1712
GOTHIC	New Testament, translated by Bishop Ulfila, A. D. 360; to which are added, Versions in Islandic, Suethic, and Latin. 4to.	1671

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Mr. Sharp's diligence and liberality, in behalf of succeeding institutions formed with similar views, appear in various documents :—

The following Memorandum is thus marked, "*to*

		DATE.
GREEK (*Modern*, or *Vulgar*).....	The Epistles—(the first vol. containing the Gospels being lost) —collated with the original Greek. 4to.	1638
HUNGARIAN.....	Bible and New Testament. 8vo. *Utrecht.*	1747
	N. B. Of this edition 3000 copies were burnt by the Papists.	
HUTTER'S Version in twelve Languages beside the original Greek, { BOHEMIAN, DANISH, ENGLISH, FRENCH, GERMAN, HEBREW, ITALIAN, LATIN, POLISH, SPANISH, SYRIAC }	of Matthew and Mark. 4to. *Norimberg.*	1599
ITALIAN.....	Bible, with marginal references to parallel Texts, cited by the Rev. Mr. Crutwell, in his Concordance of Parallels. Folio.	1562
	Bible, translated by Deodati. Folio.	1607
	New Testament, with marginal references to parallel Texts, 12mo. ..... *Pinerd.*	1576
MALABAR.....	New Testament, Malabar character. Small 4to. ... *Madras.*	1777

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be enclosed in the little parcel of books presented to the Bible Society at Calcutta, by G. Sharp."

"MEMORANDUM.

"The Author of the books enclosed in this parcel has been induced to present them to the Bible Society at

		DATE.
MALAYAN.....	Four Gospels, English character. Small 4to. ..... *Oxford.*	1677
MANKS	Bible and Testament. Folio. *Whitehaven.*	1775
MOHAWK.....	St. Mark's Gospel; also Prayer-book, Mohawk and English.	1787
	Primer. 12mo. ..... *London.*	1786
SPANISH	New Testament (Castilian). 12mo. *Venice.*	1556
	Old and New Testament, with marginal references, collated by Mr. Cruttwell, in his Concordance of Parallels. Folio.	1560
	Apocrypha and New Testament, by Cyprian de Valera. Folio. *Amsterdam.*	1602
	New Testament, by Ditto. Small 8vo. ..... *Ditto.*	1625
	Pentateuch, by Yosseph Franco Serrano. 4to. ..... *Ditto.*	1695
	Version of the English Liturgy. 8vo.	1715
SYRIAC.....	New Testament. 12mo. *Hamburgh.*	1663
VIRGINIAN INDIAN.	Bible, by Elliot, of America. 4to. *Cambridge.*	1685
WELSH	Bible and Prayer-book. 12mo. *London.*	1630
	Ditto and Ditto. 8vo. *Caer Grant.*	1746

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Calcutta for their public library, by an earnest desire and hope, that two of them may prove useful to the Eastern translators of the holy Scriptures, because they contain rules of syntax drawn from examples in the original text both of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures;—rules which have never been fully explained in any other grammars, as the Author has been informed by several competent judges.

"At the end of the Hebrew Tracts, the Author has added, in MS., an account of one additional rule of Hebrew syntax, which was proposed to him by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, the learned Dr. Horsley, with the remarks made upon it by G. S.; which addition, he hopes, will render the system of Hebrew syntax perfectly complete, so as to enfranchise the students of Hebrew in future from the arbitary shackles of that most perplexing and unreasonable system of *vowel points*, by which our Hebrew Bibles are disfigured. See Tract I. pp. 63, 64; and Tract III. pp. 28, 29, on that subject*."

MS.—'1812. October 5. Bible Society. Re-'ceived thanks for advice in printing Hebrew and 'Greek Scriptures.'

[This advice was contained in a letter addressed to the Secretaries of the Society.]

SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.

Of this venerable Society, established in 1701, Mr. Sharp became one of the members in the year

* Notice of these works will be found in the account of Mr. Sharp's Writings. The concluding remark is repeated in another Memorandum on the same subject.

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1785, and took an active part in their proceedings. His Manuscript Notes give frequent evidence of his regular attendance on the meetings; but they contain no allusion to any particular transactions of the Society, excepting what has been seen in a preceding part of these Memoirs, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury *. It does not appear that he spoke in the meeting on the subject alluded to in that letter.

The only record in the Reports of the Society, in which he is in any degree particularly concerned, relates to the success of his solicitation, in the same letter, for the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Fraser to accompany the first expedition to Sierra Leone †.

* See part III. chap. i. p. 8.

† "At a meeting of the Society, 20th October, 1786; the Archbishop of Canterbury having acquainted the Board, that Mr. Richard Fraser had been ordained Deacon and Priest by the Bishop of Ely, in order to accompany a number of Blacks going to settle at Sierra Leone in Africa as their minister; and a letter being also read from George Peters, Esq., recommending him to the benevolence of the Society; it was resolved, That the Society do appoint him their Missionary, with a salary of fifty pounds per annum, to commence at Michaelmas last; and that the Society furnish him with some books."—*Reports of the Society.*

The object of the Society is limited by charter to Foreign Parts, and more especially to the plantations, colonies, and factories beyond seas, belonging to the kingdom of England. Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters are employed by this Society in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper and Lower Canada, Cape Breton, the Bahama Islands, the Coast of Africa, New South Wales, and Norfolk Island. The

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He made a donation to the Society of the works of his father, the Archdeacon of Northumberland, and likewise of several of his own tracts.

In the year 1808, his aid was solicited towards the establishment of another religious charity, for *the Conversion of the Jews*. The proposal is contained in a letter from which the following is an extract:—

The Rev. Thomas White to Granville Sharp, Esq.

"10th December, 1808.

"At this time I am particularly interested by the benevolent attempts which you have made to attract the attention of the Jews to the evidence which their own Scriptures afford to the Messiah. The addresses to them, which you have interwoven with the critical part of your work [on the Hebrew *Vau*], convince me that you would rejoice to forward their conversion. Various circumstances induce me to think that the present is a favourable season for attempting it; and, from conversations which I have had with several benevolent and pious persons on the subject, I feel persuaded, that, were a society instituted, consisting of members of our Established Church, for the sake of promoting the conversion of the Jewish nation, it would meet with considerable encouragement. Your exertions in one noble work of charity have been rewarded by the most glorious success, and will, I doubt not, add unspeakably to

Missionaries are supplied with books for a library, and Bibles, Prayer-books, and small religious tracts, to distribute among their people, as occasion may require. The Society is directed entirely by Members of the Established Church of England. —*See History of the Bible Society*, vol. i. p. 22.

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the joy reserved for you in a better world. The object to which I now take the liberty of calling your attention, is one even more important; it is one which the Divine promise assures us shall ultimately succeed; it is one of which the promoters will, I am persuaded, obtain the blessing of the Most High.

"It would give me great satisfaction to converse with you on this subject, and I shall feel much obliged by your naming a time when I might wait upon you.

"With sincere esteem and respect," &c. &c.

It is to be remarked, that this letter was written a few months after the first meeting of several benevolent individuals, whose object was then declared to be that "of visiting and relieving the sick and distressed, and instructing the ignorant, especially such as are of the Jewish nation," but who, in the ensuing year, were finally designated by the name of "THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS." There is much obscurity in the early history of this institution. One of its most liberal and active patrons has stated in a late publication *, that it is difficult to trace clearly the progress of the Society from its origin. Its charitable intentions appear to have been announced, at its rise, under various descriptions; and it does not seem unlikely, that the communication of the sentiments contained in the above letter, if aided by

* Letter to the Bishop of St. David's, by the Rev. Lewis Way, of Stansted.

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Mr. Sharp's approbation, might have contributed to fix the unsettled designs of the associated members under the title which they now bear *. No reply to

* The first meeting above alluded to took place in August 1808; and that in which the resolution was carried for adopting the present title of the Society was held in March 1809.

The designs of the Society were at the beginning carried on under the influence of Joseph Samuel Frey, a native of Germany, who had renounced Judaism, and had been sent over to this country, on the request of the London Missionary Society, to receive ordination (as a Dissenting Minister), and thence to proceed to preach the Gospel to the Hottentot Africans, at a settlement which the (Missionary) Society had formed in the South of Africa, for the purpose of offering instruction in Christianity to the Natives. But after Frey's arrival in England, he felt a strong propensity to endeavour the conversion of his fellow-Israelites in this country; and his efforts receiving the countenance of several benevolent persons, he was ultimately induced to separate himself from the Missionary Society, and was elected president of the small association above alluded to, for promoting the temporal comfort and religious instruction of the Jews. His conduct was at first exemplary, but did not afterwards correspond with the respect due to his situation.

The *London Society*, as it was at first composed of Churchmen and Dissenters without distinction, was conducted under their joint management; and for some years the instruction imparted by its agents was of so general a nature as not to call any differences of doctrine into question; but when, on the enlargement of its funds, its plans were extended to the education of young men as preachers of the Gospel to the Jews, the unavoidable distinctions of opinion in the different parties were found materially to embarrass its operations. At length, at a General Meeting, in 1815, the Dissenters, engaged in the management, agreed to retire, and to leave the Society entirely under the direction of Members of the Church of England; at the same time promising (a promise which they afterwards fulfilled) to recommend the Society to their respective bodies.

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the letter appears among Mr. Sharp's papers. He presented to the Society one of his tracts, entitled "Jerusalem;" and his name is in the list of subscribers (as is Mr. White's also), to the year of his decease. *

AFRICAN INSTITUTION.

The life of Granville Sharp is but a history of the continued progress of Christian charity and human amelioration. In his high example we may discern *the value of a single step of virtue.* His early action of humanity to a distressed Negro brought on the freedom of slaves in England, and, in its consequences, led to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and to the other singular events which have been related. His charitable attempt to restore to social comfort those whom he had rescued from slavery, and to provide a home for them in their native land, laid the foundation of African culture and commerce; and by having given birth to the establishment at Sierra Leone, which is still the central spring of our benevolent action in that part of the globe, he will justly be entitled to be called, in future ages, the *first civilizer of Africa.* If the important efforts now making for the improvement of Africa should ultimately attain their end, and diffuse over an immense continent that light, and those blessings, from

* Reports of the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews.

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which it has been so long excluded, to *Granville Sharp* the gratitude of future generations must be offered. That his thoughts were long turned to that object, various papers, superscribed "*African Civilization*," sufficiently demonstrate.

When the Directors of the Sierra Leone Company declared the surrender of its rights to the British Government, they, almost at the same moment, announced the birth of another institution, formed for the purpose of saving from the power of fortune those advantages which, in spite of every discouragement and of failure itself, had been demonstrably proved to have been gained to the general condition of humanity. The *Sierra Leone Company* had fixed the basis of African civilization; and, though unsuccessful in the full attainment of the original plan, and finally driven, like its Founder, to the necessity of resigning the establishment into more powerful hands, it had formed a necessary ground-work for the beneficent advance of that strength to which it appealed for the protection of its invaluable purposes. It had ascertained the power of introducing agriculture, friendly commerce, and freedom itself into Africa. It had shown, that all the various natural products, brought from the West Indies, might be raised on the African soil; that the Native Chiefs might be made to perceive the full interests of peaceful communication; and that Negroes, in a state of freedom, might be habituated to labour in the fields, and were capable

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of being governed by mild laws, without whips, tortures, or chains to enforce submission to civil authority. If insubordination appeared for a time among a part of the settlers, their conduct in those circumstances, when compared with *European* colonists in other parts of the globe, afforded a result even advantageous to the African character.

But, what surpassed all other benefits, the establishment of the Sierra Leone Company had created a point of confidence for the Natives in the sound of friendly intentions, *when professed by an Englishman.* Although a sceptic of Africa *might still doubt* the existence of an anxious disposition to diffuse improvement and knowledge among the natives of his country, independently of all views of interest, the experience of twenty years had yet made it *possible* for him to believe, that British voyagers might court his acquaintance without designing to kidnap his family, or betray himself into slavery; and he might, like Felix, be "*almost persuaded*" that the blessings of mutual benevolence and good faith were not universally denied by nature to European traders *.

* See First Report of the African Institution, p. 43.

I shall add one more anecdote to the many already extant on this subject. It was related to me by an amiable and highly respectable nobleman, lately deceased, the early part of whose life had been passed in his Majesty's service in the Navy; and I shall give it in his own words.—

"The late Admiral Matthew Buckle commanded a small

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In undertaking the relief and future support of the *Colony of Freedom*, the Company had engaged to bear the whole expense of the enterprise; and, if the richest channels of wealth had been opened, the mother country could not have failed to reap the fruits of success, though she incurred no charges of government or protection. When the Company was afterwards compelled, itself, to solicit relief from the Minister, it received a liberal pecuniary aid; but it still wanted the desirable protection of the state from that devastating traffic, in the place of which it strove to substitute the natural relations of human intercourse. It in vain solicited Parliament to banish the horrid trade from that narrow region of Africa, in which the settlement was formed. English slave-mongers were permitted, to the last*, to trade even

squadron on the coast of Africa, and had a broad pendant on board the *Assistance* of fifty guns. One day, while at anchor on the coast, a Negro came off with his canoe, loaded with fruits, and all that he had that was valuable. The Commodore being on the quarter-deck, the Negro accosted him with '*What ship this?*'—The other replied, in the jargon of the country, '*King George ship, man of war ship.*'—The Negro replied, doubting, '*No, you Bristol ship.*'—The Commodore repeated what he had said; but the Negro felt his fears increase, and, exclaiming '*Dom your heart, you Bristol ship,*' leaped overboard, leaving his canoe to its fate.....I scarcely need add, that the canoe was humanely towed on shore, where the owner was most likely to find it."

* The Act for prohibiting the Slave Trade was passed on the 25th of March 1807. The Directors of the Sierra Leone Company agreed to the surrender of the colony into the hands

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in the river of Sierra Leone, and, by every means of artifice and malice, often to divert the unfortunate settlers from their better views.

Yet even on the ruins of the fabric, in which the hopes of the individual philanthrophist who had planned, and the liberal and powerful Company who had fostered, the design, had alike expired, a new association dared to found its structure, as on a basis at once of convenience and security, on which "schools might be maintained, useful arts might be taught, and an emporium of commerce established, by those whom its patronage might animate, or its information enable, to engage in such undertakings*."

With sentiments of this nature, and renovated hopes, the AFRICAN INSTITUTION presented itself to the public. It announced its design, "to improve the temporal condition and the moral faculties of the natives of Africa; to diffuse knowledge, and excite industry, by methods adapted to the peculiar situation and manners of the inhabitants; to watch over the execution of the laws that have been passed in this and other countries, for abolishing the African Slave Trade; and, finally, to introduce the blessings of civilized society among a people sunk in ignorance

of Government on the 7th January 1807, and the Bill for its surrender was brought into Parliament on the 8th of August following. The actual surrender was made on the 1st of January 1808.

* First Report of the African Institution.

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and barbarism, and occupying no less than a fourth part of the habitable globe *."

To accomplish these stupendous views, it proposed no purchase of territory, no commercial speculation, no colonial settlement, no religious mission; but "to collect and diffuse instruction concerning the natural productions of the country, its agricultural and commercial capacities, and the condition, as well intellectual as political, of its inhabitants; to introduce and promote among them letters, arts, medical discoveries, improvements of husbandry, and methods of useful and legitimate commerce; to establish amicable correspondences; to encourage enterprise in exploring the unknown interior, not merely to gratify curiosity, but to obtain and disseminate useful knowledge; and to open sources of future intercourse †."

This Institution was formed in April 1807, at a period which "appeared eminently fitted for prosecuting its benevolent designs; since the suspension, during the war, of that large share of the Slave Trade commonly carried on by France, Spain, and Holland, might naturally be expected, when combined with the effect of the abolition laws of Great Britain, America, and Denmark, to produce nearly the entire cessation of that horrid traffic, along a line of coast extending between two and three thousand miles in length, and thereby to afford a peculiarly

* Second Report of the African Institution. † Ibid.

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favourable opportunity for giving a new direction to the industry and commerce of Africa*."

Of the progress and effects of this Association likewise, while it is hourly exerting itself in the eyes of Europe and of the world, any recital would be here superfluous.

Mr. Sharp was chosen one of the first Directors, at the advanced age of seventy-three; and the duties, which it was occasionally his part to execute, were performed by him with the same zeal and activity which had distinguished the early part of his life. He assisted regularly at every meeting, even to the last but one previous to his decease.

In the year preceding that event, he was called on to present to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester (the Patron and President of the Institution) an account of his exertions in favour of African and American freedom. He accordingly presented a copious MS. (from which many parts of the foregoing narrative have been selected), and received the following answer:—

Colonel Dalton to Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Sir— "February 27, 1812.

"I beg to inform you, that I have had the honour to lay your MS. before his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, as I was instructed to do by your accompanying letter. I am honoured with his Royal Highness's commands, to convey to you his high approbation of the

* Second Report of the African Institution.

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zeal with which you have so invariably and effectually forwarded this good cause,—a cause so near the hearts of all humane persons. I am also directed to assure you of the pleasure it is to his Royal Highness, to be put in possession of the MS. you have presented him with.

"I must not close my letter without obeying strictly the further instructions I have been honoured with from his Royal Highness, to express how sensible he is of the real benefit such valuable and strenuous exertions have procured to this interesting cause, in which we continue to be engaged.

"I have the honour to be, Sir," &c. &c.

PROTESTANT UNION.

The year 1813, the last year of Mr. Sharp's life, was distinguished by an association denominated *the Protestant Union*, formed for the purpose of defending, by the sole weapons of argument and reason, a cause which the members held most sacred, —the cause of *religious freedom*.

The admission of Papists into offices of political trust and power was at that time openly demanded by men of a leading character in Ireland; and a Bill was brought into Parliament, by which their political freedom, or *emancipation* (as it was termed) from all the restraints imposed by various Acts of our Legislature, since the time of James II., was solicited from the Government of Great Britian *as a right*.

The following account is from a member of the association:—

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"Mr. Granville Sharp had uniformly opposed the system of Popery, most conscientiously believing that it was utterly subversive of the principles of genuine liberty, as well as of our Protestant Establishment.

"When, therefore, the *Roman Catholic question* was agitated, from the lively interest which he took in it, and from his frequent conversations with several friends on its great importance to the United Kingdom, it was at length agreed to convene a meeting of respectable persons firmly attached to the principles of the Constitution, as established at the Revolution, (but unconnected with party, and having no political purposes whatever to serve); and calmly and dispassionately to consider the subject.

"A meeting was accordingly held, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, on the 22d January 1813, when Mr. Sharp was called to the chair. After some discussion, the Address and Resolutions, published by the Protestant Union in their first paper, were unanimously adopted.

"These Resolutions were reprinted and circulated in Ireland, and had a great effect in rousing the dormant spirit of Protestantism in that country. The Protestant Union was encouraged by the warm approbation of many eminent characters throughout the United Kingdom, and Mr. Sharp received many high eulogiums on the principles developed in their papers."

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The principal aim of the arguments used by this Society, was to separate distinctly the *two objects*, *Religious* Freedom and *Political* Freedom. They asserted that the *former* was already fully possessed by the whole body of Roman Catholics; and that the *latter*, of course, was the true object of the Bill presented by them to the Parliament, and was coveted, not for the sake of the *whole body of Papists* (the lower classes, necessarily, not being within the reach of its consequences), but by that class alone, which, from its rank in life, would be enabled to possess what would accrue from its attainment. To this reasoning they added, as an incontrovertible argument, that the religious freedom, enjoyed by the Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom, would not in return be allowed to the Protestants (and other religious descriptions of men), if the Papists should regain political power, because the *positive* and *unalterable* tenets of the Papal religion were intolerant of religious establishments of all other descriptions; and, therefore, that the establishment of a Protestant Church was the only real source of universal religious freedom.

"In their second paper," continues the same account, "they issued a series of *Questions respecting the demands of the Roman Catholics*, which have never been answered to this day.

"The Protestant Union also published some extracts of their correspondence with Ireland,

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exemplifying by facts the principles held by the Roman Catholics *.

"The publications of the society were sent to all the Members of Parliament in both Houses. But as *The Union* had no desire to raise any popular clamour against the Roman Catholics, but simply to bring the subject before the public *upon principle*, they did not call public meetings, or use any methods to create prejudice.

"The last meeting of the Protestant Union, during the life-time of Mr. Sharp, was held on the 1st of March; on which day the question, having undergone a previous debate of four days in the House of Commons, was carried in favour of the Roman Catholics by a majority of forty. *The Union*, therefore, finding its efforts ineffectual as to this great point, ceased from its exertions; the cause appearing to all the members to be lost, and it being deemed the remaining *duty of all* to submit peaceably to the determination of the Government. But their hopes were not destined so soon to perish. On the 24th of May, in one of the largest assemblies of the House of Commons ever known, when the last stage of the Bill in favour of the Roman Catholics was in a Committee of the whole House, the Speaker (Mr. Abbott), after a most powerful and impressive speech, proposed, as an amendment to the Bill, 'that the

* An "Appeal to the Protestants of Great Britain and Ireland" was published in the subsequent papers of the Protestant Union, in reply to an "Address" by Charles Butler, Esq.

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first clause, which was, *to admit Roman Catholics into Parliament*, be struck out;' which motion, after a long and warm debate, being carried by a majority of 251 votes to 247, the other clauses of the Bill were given up, and the power of the Protestant Establishment remained unshaken*."

In all the meetings of The Union, Mr. Sharp exerted himself with unabated vigour of mind, and gave the most useful support to the cause. He spoke frequently, and with great firmness; and he corresponded with several eminent persons on the subject of the Bill. Notwithstanding his great age, his faculties were still strong and clear; and his thorough acquaintance with the distinctions of religious tenets enabled him to enforce his feelings by the most animated and convincing arguments †. Never, in the long course of his public efforts, had he shown more conspicuously the superior treasures of his powerful

* On the renewal of the Roman Catholic Petition, the meettings of the Protestant Union were resumed, Stephen Cattley, Esq. being called to the chair; and, at the last meeting, April 17th, 1819, previous to the intended debate in the House of Commons (which took place on the 3d of May), a series of Resolutions was drawn up, and sent to every Member of both Houses of Parliament.

† "His knowledge," adds the writer of the account before given, "of what Popery was and ever will be, and his sense of the fatal indifference of good-natured Protestants, which will sooner or later be their destruction, rendered his services of great use. In this society he spoke more, and attended more frequently, I believe, than in any other."

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mind, or excited in his associates sensations of higher respect. The Reports, and other numerous papers of the society, were submitted to his inspection, and sanctioned by him, previous to their publication; and several of them received his corrections*. The flame of life played actively within him, and darted peculiar lustre, at the moment when it was about to quit its mortal tenement for ever. The strenuous exertions of his faculties, indeed, on this important occasion, probably accelerated the final period of his labours; and if he expressed no conscious triumph at closing them in a cause which he deemed transcendently meritorious, it was because he regarded the dispensations of his Creator with equal awe, and with equal submission, at all moments of his worldly course.

The MS. Notes contain the mention of Mr. Sharp's attendance on several other charitable and religious societies, but afford no particular notice of their concerns. At the Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlehem the remembrance of his name is accompanied, as usual, by that of his benevolence. In the early part of the time in which he was a Governor,

* The *Twenty Resolutions*, in particular, which were passed in the first meeting, and the *Series of Questions* proposed to the Roman Catholics, in the second meeting, received his hearty approbation and concurrence. They are drawn up with singular ability and force. In revising the papers of the Union he frequently passed the greater part of the night.

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he paid great attention to the condition of the prison and the prisoners, and particularly to the introduction of work among them. The Minutes of the Committee bear ample testimonies of this solicitude. In the year 1800, a year of remarkable scarcity, he addressed a Letter to the Clerk of Bridewell Hospital, proposing that, instead of the usual annual dinner, the Stewards, who were to have furnished the expenses of it, should apply a sum of equal amount towards the necessities of the patients in Bethlehem Hospital; and, in consequence of his letter, a motion to that effect was made and carried, at a special Court held on the 15th of May.

He was also a Governor of St. Luke's Hospital for many years, and one of the Auditors of the Treasurer's accounts, but took no other active part in its management, not being on the Committees.

The other Societies mentioned in his Notes, at which he appears to have attended more rarely, are the African Association, Palestine Association, Refuge for the Destitute, Hibernian Society, Society for the Protection of Young Women, Female Penitentiary.—Dr. Bray's Society occurs frequently.

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART V.

DOMESTIC CHARACTER OF MR. SHARP.—HIS DECEASE.—
PUBLIC RESPECT SHOWN TO HIS MEMORY.

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PART V.

CHAP. I.

WHILE contemplating the public usefulness of Mr. Sharp's actions, let us not forget to accompany him also in the progress of his domestic life, in the bosom of his family, in the retirement of his private hours, and in the social intercourse of friendly relations.

A long course of years had necessarily brought with it a numerous train of those affectionate interests, which often delightful, sometimes painful, but always valuable, form the richest treasures of the heart. It is not difficult to conceive, after what has been related, that he was as attentive, as constant, as active, in all concerns of a domestic nature, as if those alone had constituted the whole employment of his time. But we may yet be surprised to learn, that he even allotted to them a *preference* above all other occupations and engagements; and that, averse from that obdurate system of morals which once reduced the world to servitude, he believed, that in the *public*

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he brought his task to its completion. In the summer of 1783, James being dangerously ill, he had accompanied him to Weymouth, with delusive hopes of his recovery. In the autumn of the same year he returned thither, accompanied by his brother William, to bring back the dying invalid. "We arrived in town," says Granville, "in the evening, my poor brother being *in extremis*. I lifted him out of the chariot, and carried him myself into his own house." Two days afterwards he expired, and Granville attended his funeral as chief mourner.

With the same affectionate solicitude he hastened to his elder brother John, Archdeacon of Northumberland, at Durham, to attend him in his last hours, in 1792.

Besides the above deprivations, he had lost another brother, and two of his sisters, in the course of the events that have been related.

But the heaviest of his afflictions was yet awaiting him. He had one only brother and sister remaining: the latter, Mrs. Prowse, of Wicken Park, in Buckinghamshire, was at Fulham in the spring of 1810, where his brother William and Mrs. Sharp were anxiously watching over the declining health of their daughter. These now formed the whole of the family circle resident at that place. William was sinking under the gradual decay of age, and deep parental concern. Mrs. Prowse, apparently healthy, was seized with illness, and at the end of five days expired—a pure Christian, benevolent in life, and

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full of hope in death. Granville was, as usual, on the spot, comforting and assisting *. His behaviour was composed, but grave. After her decease his whole attention was occupied by his brother, whose infirmities were rapidly increased by this new affliction. But, being named his sister's executor, it was necessary for him to repair to her late family residence at Wicken Park, in order to dismiss the establishment and vacate the place for her successor. He went, accompanied by the daughter of his late brother James, to a scene which brought back the varied recollections of family endearments. The business, which it was necessary to transact on the occasion, agitated him so greatly as to render him sometimes, for the space of an hour or two, incapable of making the requisite exertions.

During this painful occupation, accounts arrived of the alarming increase of his brother's illness. To the surprise of all around him, he was reluctant to leave Wicken, and was with difficulty prevailed on to assent to an immediate return to Fulham. He questioned the messenger: he strove to discredit his report. It seemed as if he could not bear to be convinced that his beloved brother's life was in imminent danger. He, however, set forward.—While on the road, a second dispatch brought the

* He received (and wrote) his sister's will from her own lips, on the day before her death; and attended her while she received the sacrament, in the midst of her family, including, at her particular request, two little girls, her grand-nieces.

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melancholy tidings that his brother was no more. When fully assured of the reality of his loss, "*God's will,*" he exclaimed, "*be done!*" and shed tears copiously. A long silence ensued, till, turning to his companion, he opened a Bible, which he had brought in the carriage, and read aloud several detached sentences from the Psalms; selecting such as were most applicable to their present distress, and translating them (for his Bible was a Hebrew one) in language to which the solemnity of the moment gave the most impressive and affecting expression.

Throughout the whole of these severe trials his sorrow was deep and silent, tempered with resignation, and with a perfect composure which solaced and strengthened those who wept around him; his conversation dwelling more on the blessings which were still accorded to them, than on those which were withdrawn.

Two years after the loss of his brother William, his affliction was renewed by the death of one of his nieces*,—an event which sensibly affected the short remaining portion of his life†.

* Mary, the first wife of T. J. Lloyd Baker, Esq., of Hardwick Court, Gloucestershire.

† He has left the following memoranda of the death of his sister and his niece.—

"23d February, 1810. My dear sister Prowse yielded up her calm and truly Christian spirit to her Heavenly Father this night, seemingly without the least sensibility of pain or suffering."

"28th December, 1812. Yesterday I received a most afflicting letter from my sister Sharp, at Dawlish, Devon, giving me

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As Granville had continued unmarried, the houses of his brothers James and William were for many years his general residence; and it was not till the beginning of the year 1792, that he took chambers in the Temple for the purposes of various business that pressed upon him. In his brothers' families, he was an example of the most kind and considerate behaviour towards the domestics of every class, who were as assiduous and as anxious to serve him, as he was careful to avoid giving them unnecessary trouble. For himself, he never at any time of his life retained a male servant: a feeble old woman was his only attendant at his chambers.

His benevolence, so universal to mankind, could not fail to be extended in just proportion to inferior animals, of whose nature he had ever been a close and studious observer. While a boy, he had been fond of taming them, and had always a favourite dog or cat, jackdaw, bat, or lizard. His occupation at the Ordnance gave him frequent opportunities of visiting the *menagerie* in the Tower, and he studied, with much observation, the peculiar disposition of each animal. When in the country, he delighted no less in the various characters of the *more friendly* tribes of inferior creatures. In fact, nothing in

the melancholy account of her daughter, my dear niece, Mrs. Baker. She received the holy Sacrament on her death-bed; and, being most sincerely prepared for the awful change, she resigned her meek spirit to God, without a sigh or groan, as if her departure was only in sleep."

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creation, whether animate or inanimate, escaped his notice, his admiration, or his benevolence. But he more particularly applied the lesson, which was the result of his observations on other animals, to a scrutiny of the human bosom. He perceived, in the conduct of men toward the creatures destined to their use, an *unsuspected test of moral character*, by which he might safely ascertain the worth of every man's heart, and the grounds of his action toward his own species *.

In the exercise of his religion, he was careful to preserve a behaviour free from ostentation; but it was at the same time firm, and profoundly reverential. As he rose early, his first employment was either reading the holy Scriptures, or chanting a portion of the Hebrew Psalms to his harp. His evenings were closed in the same manner. When in London, he regularly attended the service of St. Paul's, and joined in the choral part †. In the respective families of his relations he regularly *attended*, and generally *read*, the Morning and Evening Prayers from the

* The last entry in his common-place book being on this subject, will be found in the *Appendix*. The following passage occurs in his tract "On the Injustice of Slavery:"—"At present, the inhumanity of constrained labour in excess extends no farther in England than to our *beasts*, as post and hackney horses, sand-asses, &c. &c. But thanks to our laws, and not to the general good disposition of masters, that it is so; *for the wretch who is bad enough to maltreat a helpless beast, would not spare his fellow-man, if he had him as much in his power.*"

† See Letter from William Shield, Esq., in the Appendix.

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Liturgy. He was constant in his attendance on Divine worship twice, if possible, every Sunday, and never omitted any opportunity of receiving the sacrament. But his devotion, like every other part of his action, was simple. He disliked long sermons, particularly if preached *extempore*, and would often tell his friend ————, "Thou shalt not be heard for thy much speaking." He objected to *extempore* preachers, because he thought it presumptuous in any man to venture to deliver his sentiments and opinions on subjects so momentous, without notes at least, when they might be so much better arranged in the closet.

He, in general, observed all the Fasts and Festivals. He was, indeed, in the habit of fasting frequently; but it was performed in a way so unobtrusive, that few persons were aware of the strictness with which he practised this religious duty. In his MS. Notes, in the year 1800, he mentions that he *dined at his chambers* every day in Passion week, with the exception that no notice whatever is taken of Good Friday, whence it is probable that *that* day was observed with more than common abstinence. He avoided travelling, or entering on any secular business, on Sundays; sacred music being his chief recreation on those days.

At all other times he was a frequent traveller, chiefly in public stage-coaches, where he greatly enjoyed the mixture of characters which he met with, and where he not unfrequently found the means of

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exercising his benevolence. One day, going to his brother's house at Fulham in the stage-coach, a fellow-passenger, impatient at the ordinary delays attendant on conveyances of that kind, burst forth into expressions of immoderate rage, mixed with frequent oaths. Granville sat silent, taking no notice, in any manner, of his companion's fury; but the next morning he called on the angry traveller, and gently, but effectually, reproved him for his intemperate and unchristian behaviour.

His ever-active humanity was as unostentatious as his religion. Sufficient examples of it are at large before the world. But it had not been more constantly exercised in *public* concerns, than in the private incidents of every day. He appears never to have refused, or neglected, any application made to him of a charitable nature.—

From a poor *imprisoned* Author, well known to many by his annual request of subscription to a pamphlet "On the Improvement of the Law of England *with Regard to Imprisonment for Debt*," he orders three copies to be left for himself.

When the celebrated singer, Signora Frazi, was returning to Italy, some pecuniary embarrassments, though of a trivial amount, detaining her on her road in France, it appears, by her letter of thanks, that he sent her a small sum, sufficient to relieve her difficulties.

At another time, an anonymous writer requested of him a loan of thirty guineas: his plea was

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distress, and *the desire of concealing it;* and the excuse for his application, his confidence in Granville's benevolence. Mr. Sharp's answer does not appear:—it was not of letters of this kind that he preserved copies. But a second letter from the unknown petitioner expresses his acknowledgments to him, for explaining his circumstances so openly to a stranger, and for *ten guineas* which had been sent with the explanation. What more ensued is not now to be traced *.

The following sentence, in a letter to Mr. Sharp from the late Governor Thicknesse, is similarly characteristic: "I asked my relation, the ——— of ———, for his subscription, which he readily consented to; but he did not say, like the generous Sharps, 'Put down my *wife*, my *brother*,' &c. &c."

This tenderness of sensibility toward the woes of a fellow-creature, increased with his age; and even the decay of life, while it gradually impaired the necessary discrimination of proper objects of his bounty, did not abate the benevolent desires of his heart. The consequence of his infirm state, at the time when his last public actions were in progress, was that of which the world (unfortunately for *real* sufferers) presents too many examples. He became

* It is, perhaps, to this transaction that General Oglethorpe thus alludes in the beginning of one of his letters. "The manner of your acting towards that unfortunate young gentleman, is a new proof of the universal charity which animates your actions."

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a prey to the entreaties, importunities, and sometimes almost the menaces, of hundreds, who pleaded resistless poverty as a species of *right* to every thing that he possessed. The doors of his chambers in the Temple were beset, from morning to evening, by a promiscuous assembly of poor and idle, who awaited his coming with the utmost vigilance, and who, at the first moment of his appearance, assailed him on every side. There is reason to believe, that, in the course of his latter visits to his chambers, he deprived himself, for the sake of his mendicants, of every article of value that could in any way be useful to them*.

As a British *subject*, he evinced in all his actions his loyalty to the Sovereign, and his zealous veneration for the Constitution of England†. During the alarming riots in 1780, an armed association being formed within the Temple, where he was then

* On his return to Fulham, during his last illness, the same importunate applicants followed him thither, and were with difficulty restrained from a frequent repetition of their visits, although several were proved to be impostors of the most disgraceful condition.

† His definition of loyalty, in a note attached to his admirable conclusion of his friend Benezet's "Account of Guinea," deserves to be selected. "There is loyalty even in the law of liberty; for true loyalty, according to the strict meaning of the word, consists not only in a zealous attachment to the person of a sovereign, but includes likewise a conscientious and incorruptible observance of all those moral, as well as temporal laws, which are calculated for the mutual benefit and happiness of society."

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resident, he solicited permission to head the body of pikemen, who constituted a part of the proposed defence *.

In his general demeanour, although always serious on important points, he never assumed any rigour of manner or conduct, nor did he abstain from the common recreations of mankind. He occasionally attended plays, operas, balls, and concerts; and his acquaintances were numerous among all ranks.

He belonged for many years to a club called the *Madrigal* Society, where the constitutional vivacity of his disposition enabled him to concur in and promote every innocent effusion of gaiety. The Members of the Club still speak with unabated respect of their venerable Associate, "whose presence" (as they report of him) "never cast a gloom over their meetings, although it imposed that salutary restraint, which prevented the utterance of an impure expression, sentiment, or song, during his continuance among them †."

But no intimacy of friendship, or familiarity of intercourse, even amidst the ardour of youthful spirits, ever diminished the awful regard with which he at

* I find among his papers two proof-sheets of "a Plan of Association for Langbourne Ward," and "of the Honourable Artillery Company," both in 1798. The latter is directed to him, and under his address is written, "*N. B. A fresh proof to-morrow.*"

† I have been favoured with this anecdote by a Member of the Madrigal Society.

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all times contemplated the higher hopes of our nature. In youth, he was the intimate friend of Sir William Jones; and when that amiable man was departing for India, Granville, in their farewell interview, addressed him thus: "We have talked together on many subjects: we have not yet spoken on the most material one, *our reliance on the will of our Creator in all things.* You are leaving us for India. I have drawn up a collection of prayers: suffer me to present it to you, and to entreat that, when you are far removed from me, you will adopt the use of it." Sir William Jones replied, that "his request was a high gratification to him, and he was glad to be able to say that he was himself *constant in prayer.*"

It is probable that a collection of prayers, found among his papers, is the same which he then presented to his friend.

Nothing, indeed, was more remarkable in Mr. Sharp's social intercourse, than the firmness with which he delivered his most serious opinions on many ordinary occasions, and the unembarrassed simplicity with which he uttered them, blending religion with almost every topic, both in conversation and in writing. An anecdote, communicated by a friend who witnessed many of his virtuous labours, very forcibly expresses his character in this point:—

Once, in a Committee of the Sierra Leone Company, after a long discussion of the difficulties which had impeded the progress of their undertaking, he

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suddenly rose, and said with warmth, "All these impediments arise from *our great enemy, the devil*, against whom there is no power of resistance, except by fervent prayers to God."

The extent of his belief in distinct agencies under Divine permission, is shown in his remarks on a passage of Gibbon's History, among his printed tracts: and it will be seen also in a short note, demonstrative of an internal feeling, which requires no comment:—

MS.—'1767. Sept. 10, quarter past five, A. M. 'Was severely warned about my own slowness, 'which prepared me for the next business.'

He showed himself on every occasion friendly to all pursuits of literature, though his own peculiar learning was of so different a nature as scarcely to be included under that denomination. He embraced the knowledge which he acquired, only as the means of advancing virtue and piety among mankind. In a letter to Dr. Witherspoon, in America, sent with a large present of books to the public library at New Jersey, he says,—"I sincerely wish the promotion of sound literature in America, and more especially the two great objects and purposes of it, true religion and virtue."

His general custom, and constant desire, to spread the instructions conveyed in his works, by presenting

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them gratuitously rather than by exposing them for sale, has been noticed. The following letter will show the temper with which they were composed and issued.

G. S. to Mr. William Sharp.

" Dear Brother, " Garden Court, Temple, 7th July, 1807.

" I have finished my '*Warning to the Quakers*,' a copy of which is enclosed in this parcel for you: but you must not part with it to any other person, because I am under promise to the Quakers not to give it to any persons but members of their Society, except occasionally to a Roman Catholic, or a Swedenborgian.

" I have delivered two copies to Mr. W. Birkbeck yesterday, that he may consult some of the most prudent of their Society, in what manner the book may be most advantageously distributed among them*," &c. &c.

Two alone, of his numerous works, were printed by himself for sale,—the tract " on the Injustice of tolerating Slavery in Great Britain," and that " on the Greek Article." The obvious utility of the first of these probably appeared to him sufficient to justify its publication. For the publication of the latter, one of his notes furnishes the motive:—

MS.—' After the tract was finished, it was post-' poned or neglected for nearly twenty years, from

* There is also among Mr. Sharp's various papers one containing similar observations respecting the Roman Catholics, but it has escaped my search on the present occasion.

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'1778 to 1798, and would not even then have been 'produced to the public, if my very worthy and 'learned friend, Dr. Burgess, now Bishop of St. 'David's, had not undertaken to be the editor of it. 'He printed two different editions of it; and the 'bitter objections of some scurrilous Socinians 'spurred me up at last to answer them in a third 'edition.'

That the *opinion* of a man so conscientiously upright, should be anxiously sought on difficult subjects, and in cases of a doubtful nature, will not excite wonder. Accordingly, he appears to have been consulted on points of conduct and conscience in numerous letters, to some of which the replies are found in his Correspondence.

On all such occasions, whether in writing or in discourse, his manner of delivering his sentiments was gentle, but his phrase was earnest and impressive. The mode and tenor of his discourse on all important subjects was didactic. His deep and powerful, but diffuse arguments, were of a nature that did not easily allow of conversation. The hearer might listen, and would not fail to listen with pleasure and instruction, but must be contented to receive the doctrine in whatever form it was delivered, without modification.

These peculiarities are among the distinctions of a strong and good mind. Others, and greater, will

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also appear. It is requisite that some alloy should be found mixed with so much virtue, lest the character should appear the fabric of fancy, and the reader should forget that he is perusing the history of a mortal like himself.

His counsel was always of the most salutary kind. When an American of Baltimore (of the name of Joseph Townsend) wrote to him, to acquaint him that, from respect to his great virtues, he had given the name of *Granville* to his (third) son, Mr. Sharp replied (after acknowledging the pleasing instance of his regard), "I sincerely wish that your son may live, and improve to the satisfaction of his parents; and, as you have been pleased to give him our family name, I must request you to teach him a favourite maxim also of the family;—'*Always endeavour to be really what ye would wish to appear.*' This maxim, as my father informed me, was carefully and humbly practised by *his* father, whose sincerity, as a plain honest man, thereby became the principal feature of his character, both in public and private life."

Nor can it be matter of surprise, that such a man should be thought desirable as a trustee in numberless instances. Two considerable ones have been mentioned; and Mr. Clarkson has stated, in his *Obituary Notice*, that "he was almost continually harassed by applications from others, to take a part in their affairs, and to see that justice was done

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them, where they had considered themselves to be aggrieved. There was, also, such a general notion of his integrity and justice, that many, both friends and strangers, pressed him to become the executor of their wills, and the guardian of their children. Mr. Sharp was willing to oblige all." "We do not recollect," continues Mr. C. "for how many persons he was at one time a disinterested agent in such concerns; but it was so great, that the office became an entire burden on his time, and he was obliged at last to prevent the spreading of the evil, by refusing all other applications of the same kind *."

* The following anecdote, concerning a trust consigned to him, is from a friend before alluded to. "My acquaintance with Mr. Sharp originated in the circumstance of my being professionally engaged in the conduct of a commission of bankrupt under which he was an assignee. The concern was of great magnitude, and involving questions of considerable intricacy, as connected with many trusts and collateral estates. With the detail of these Mr. Sharp did not interfere, but he was painfully anxious that the most ample justice should be done to every individual creditor and claimant; and never failed to urge the productive employment of the balances in hand for the benefit of the estate, and that the dividends should be paid with the least possible waste and delay. It is almost needless to add, that he never directly or indirectly retained one shilling of the estate in his hands, and was only apprehensive that the debt, in respect of which he had proved on the estate, might not have been sufficiently investigated; and on the subject of one of the dividends I had many interviews and a long correspondence with him, as to a supposed error in his favour, which, after much difficulty, I was enabled to elucidate to his satisfaction."

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That he merited the confidence which his sincerity and religious zeal inspired, is confirmed (if any proof were wanting) by an occurrence, which derives importance from the eminently virtuous character with which it is connected.

Among his MSS. is one thus inscribed, "A Letter by G. S. to the Author of a Tract on Prophecy, entitled '*Application of a Prophecy in the Eleventh Chapter of Daniel to the French War.*'" To this superscription is added, in the hand-writing of Mr. Sharp, the following notice, which discloses a circumstance probably little known, and of no common stamp in the annals of the political world. "The anonymous writer, to whom this letter was addressed by G. S., *as an unknown Author*, very soon afterwards acknowledged the receipt of it, as well as his full approbation of the contents. That Author was *the late very worthy and learned Spencer Perceval, Esq.*, at that time his Majesty's Solicitor-General, but afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer. During all the time of his last high and important office of Prime Minister, he steadily maintained a just and proper sense of the anti-Christian principles of the papal apostacy, and regularly, to the day of his death, opposed the false and mistaken benevolence of the inconsiderate advocates for what they call *Catholic Emancipation*."

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In person, Mr. Sharp was thus described in a periodical publication, at the time of his decease :—

Stature . . . . . middle size;
Countenance . . . clear;
Gait . . . . . upright;
Motion . . . . . sprightly.

This description is sufficiently accurate. His figure was well formed, and in his youth he must have been esteemed handsome. In the later years of his life (when chiefly he was known to the Writer of these Memoirs) he was exceedingly thin, but proportionally active in his gait and motion. His *air* denoted his mind: it was frank, lively, and unaffected. In all intercourse which was merely social, a strong bias to humorous associations was happily blended with the philanthropic expression of his countenance, and rendered his address and conversation interesting alike to the young and old.

In manner and behaviour he exhibited much of that polished courtesy and attentiveness to others, which is considered *not to be of the present time;* and he had no less of that urbanity which is subject to no *modes*, but which is the ornament of all societies, and distinguishes the *gentleman* of all times.

When walking in the streets, which was usually with a rapid pace, he appeared abstracted in thought, and indifferent to all that was passing around him; but on recognising any friend who accosted him, he *gave himself* instantly and wholly to him, and his

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thoughts flowed so fully towards the interest thus excited, that he seemed to have forgotten every other object.

His deportment towards his superiors was respectful and easy; his self-possession, even in the presence of Royalty, being uniform; towards his common acquaintance, obliging and communicative; towards his inferiors, attentive and humane.

MISCELLANEOUS MEMORANDA.

Some additional, though less important, memoranda, taken from Mr. Sharp's MS. Notes, for which no place in the narrative obviously presented itself, are proper to be here added, as contributing to the display of his opinions and affections, and of his constant and various action.

'1786. May 26. Met Dr. B——, who talked 'of Dr. Johnson in the highest terms. When I 'replied, that I thought he was apt to build argu-'ments on false foundations, and contrary to natural 'rights, he said, "Dr. Johnson thinks, that the

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'*garrulosity* of the people about their rights did 'infinite harm, and is injurious to good government 'and morality." Thus the quondam professed advo-'cate for popular rights and liberty has swallowed 'the perverted notions of the *pensioner*, and indis-'criminately adopted his groundless sophistry, in 'favour of passive obedience, and, in his own words, '*garrulosity*.'

'July 1. Attended Serjeant Rook, Lincoln's Inn, 'on the arbitration for damages in favour of John 'Cambridge, a Negro, against Captain Holman.'

'9th. Waited on Lord Dartmouth, in behalf of 'Daniel Simon, a Nasaganset Indian, and in Orders. 'His Lordship gave me ten guineas for him.'

'1786. January 10. Mr. Strasburg, a Jew, read 'the two texts on Jeremiah exactly like myself.'

'11th. Called on Mr. Shiph, priest of the Portu-'guese synagogue.'

'12th. On Mr. Moses, priest of the Dutch syna-'gogue.'

'16th. Read to Mr. Shiph, the priest of the 'Portuguese synagogue, the answer to the queries 'which he gave me.'

'1793. July 16. Attended at Guildhall, and was 'bound to prosecute the young man and boy who 'picked my pocket on the 11th. Jocelyn, the con-'stable, swore to the fact. I only swore to my 'property, and that I had lost my handkerchief.— '(The trial about the 3d of September.)'

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'September 11. Old Bailey. Attended the grand 'jury at eleven o'clock, against George Whiteman 'and Mackey, two pickpockets. The bill was found. 'Afterward, at three o'clock, I attended the sessions. 'The Recorder, Sir John Rose, ordered the trial 'immediately. Both were convicted. I told the 'Recorder I wished the prisoners might be permitted 'to enter the King's service, and I would clothe 'them. He promised to respite their transportation 'till the next sessions, to allow time for their en-'tering and getting employment.'

'1794. March 17. Fulham. Employed in making 'remarks on Lord Hawkesbury's plan of militia, '&c.'

'1796. January 20. This morning Antonio Barrat, 'alias Molasco, called on me. He was just returned 'exchanged by cartel, from a French prison-ship. 'I saved this man, and another Negro, Henry 'Martin Burrows, from on board the ship Albion, 'Captain Jeremy Barton (*on the 4th of February*, '1788), where they were concealed, to be sold as 'slaves. Both had escaped from prison in the 'Havannah to a boat, in which they put to sea, with-'out provisions; were ten days without eating or 'drinking; and were taken up at sea by the Albion. 'I sent Antonio to Sierra Leone, in the Myro brig, 'in 1788 (about July), and he stayed at the settle-'ment with the first settlers, till it was destroyed by 'the Natives; after which, wandering on the coast,

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'he went on board a slave-ship, where he was de-
'tained, until taken by the French.'

'1796. March 26. Sent letters to two Sierra
'Leone settlers in Haslar Hospital.'

'1797. March 23. Left with the Archbishop of
'Canterbury the papers on divorce. Wrote in the
'catalogue of books sent to Sierra Leone about the
'necessity of a test.'

'April 12. Rev. Mr. Trowers; and delivered to
'him Remarks on his works, and also Remarks on
'Evans.'

'June 28. Called on Mr. King, the American
'Ambassador, to enforce the necessity of *frank-*
'*pledge* in America.'

'1798. May 18. Society for Propagation of the
'Gospel: spoke to the Archbishop about *schools* at
'Sierra Leone.'

'September 3. Colonel Tatcham called about his
'new work of embanking fens, &c. Sat the whole
'morning, from half past eleven to three o'clock, in
'searching etymology of words for him.'

'1800. At a general meeting, chosen one of the
'Trustees of the London Library.'

'1804. December 8. The Bishop of St. Asaph
'called on me, and has consented to form a com-
'pendium of my rules for the Hebrew Syntax.'

'1806. October 8. Wrote to the Bishop of St.
'David's about forming a compendium of Hebrew
'Grammar and Syntax, which the Bishop of St.

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'Asaph (Horsley) had undertaken, of whose death 'I was informed last night.'

'1813. January 14. The whole morning with 'Mr. Way, at my chambers, talking on religious 'subjects.'

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CHAP. II.

It now remains to relate that humiliation of mental and corporeal faculties, through which many, even the holiest men, have been ordained to pass to eternal life. After the last meeting of the *Protestant Union* in 1813, Mr. Sharp's efforts were few. He had, for some months, experienced a failure of quick recollection, wholly unusual to his ready and methodized intellect. At the meetings of the African Institution, he rarely took any share in the discussions; and, though he was welcomed with a respect approaching to veneration, the advantages, which his powerful mind had so long continued to afford, were no more to be gained from his presence. At those of the Bible Society, though he did not wholly forbear to express his sentiments, his arguments were vague; his reason wandered from its aim; and regret and silence were all that was left to his hearers, when he ceased to speak. He seemed, however, less aware than his friends, of the rapid change that was taking place, and he persevered in a strict attendance on the public meetings of both establishments. These exertions were contemplated by his anxious family with a dread which the affections of our nature prompt on such occasions. They entreated him to

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desist; but in vain: he could not consent to yield a post which he thought it his duty to maintain. One effort, at length, which had nearly proved fatal to him, turned the scale, and compelled him to submission:—

Since the death of his brother William he had principally resided with his widow, at Fulham; from whence he made many occasional excursions to his chambers in the Temple:

In the month of June 1813, having made an offer of some books to the Temple library, he thought it requisite to attend in person to the delivery of them, and proposed a visit to London for that purpose. Every argument, which affection could dictate, was urged to dissuade him; but all proved ineffectual. The offer of the family-carriage was then withheld, in the hope that forgetfulness might prevent the apprehended evil. But at breakfast-time the next morning he did not appear as usual, and, on inquiry, it was found that he was gone to London in the stage-coach. A servant was immediately dispatched after him; but he had left his chambers also. He returned with the stage to Fulham in the afternoon; said he had packed and sent his books, but had had no food, and was nearly exhausted. His danger had been imminent. It appeared that the coachman who conveyed him to town, perceiving his altered state, had felt considerable anxiety on his account, and, as soon as he had settled the business of the coach, went in search of him to his chambers, at the

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door of which he found him, wandering about in a state of incertitude, being unable to guide himself to the part of the town that he designed to reach. He was easily persuaded by the warm-hearted coachman to go back with him to Fulham, and was thus happily preserved from more distressing accidents.

The term which bounds mortality now rose to Granville's view. But, although formed, by the fixed habits of a pious mind, to a submissive acknowledgment of the dispensations of Providence, and a cheerful resignation to the Divine will, he beheld the approach of death not wholly without emotion. The ardent prosecution of his religious studies had gradually led him to indulge a persuasion, which many of sainted memory have felt, that the epoch, foretold in Scripture, when the reign of holy men shall be established on the earth, was on the eve of its commencement. He conceived that it might even precede the natural period of his own earthly existence. The encouragement of this favourite idea had tended insensibly to exempt him from the apprehensions of a time, when the consciousness of Being was to be suspended under the hand of death. That expectation was now shaken;—in *what degree* shaken, or how far the soothing image might yet have continued to impress his soul with belief, during the remaining portion of his existence here, is known only to that All-seeing Mind, to whom the hearts of men are open, and who, amidst the darkness of

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decline and death, is to the righteous an everlasting light and glory*.

The distress, which the approaching loss of this excellent man brought on a house of which he now remained the sole male representative, needs not be described. He was attended with the most faithful care and tenderness; and the even, although rapid, decay of life within him, allowed, almost to its last hour, the melancholy pleasure of viewing him still forming a part of the small domestic circle, at the once happy mansion of Fulham. On the day preceding his death, he breakfasted as usual with the family. His weakness was much increased; and he was several times compelled to lie down on his bed during the course of the afternoon. He appeared often to labour for breath. Night, and partial repose, came on. In the morning, his countenance was changed—in colour only;—in expression it remained

* An anecdote of an extraordinary nature is related of Mr. Sharp on the above-mentioned point. From an opinion which he had adopted, of the striking resemblance of many actual circumstances of his own time to those which, in the scriptural prophecies, are believed to announce the happy state of the good on earth, he had encouraged in his mind a belief that the desired period was speedily approaching, and once, in the fervour of his hopes, declared its probable arrival *in the ensuing spring*. Being then in company with several ministers of the Gospel, he was asked by one of them if he did not speak of these things *doubtingly*. "*Not at all*," was his reply, "*but as a positive truth*." Mr. H———, a Baptist preacher, exclaimed, "What would we give, Mr. Sharp, for such a faith as yours!"

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unaltered. About four o'clock in the afternoon he fell into a tranquil slumber, in which, without a struggle or a sigh, he breathed his last*. His decease was a gradual (and, to those who watched around him, an imperceptible) decline into total rest. He only ceased from his mortal state;—and who shall presume to judge, if the prepossession of his pure and holy feelings was not in that moment accomplished?—He ceased from life, when that life could no longer be powerfully exerted to combat the pride, to promote the virtue, and enlarge the happiness, of his fellow-creatures. May it not be pardonable to think, that Providence had allotted to a creature of so pure a spirit the entire development and use of his high faculties in this his station, and that their exhaustion was the signal of his departure? The talent, which had been entrusted to him, was

* Some circumstances, just now communicated by a near relation, are too interesting to be wholly omitted.

During the further decline of his strength, he frequently entered the room where the family were assembled, and, taking a seat near to them, continued—sometimes for hours—to look stedfastly on them, appearing pleased with being in their company, but without uttering a word.

When on his death-bed, his two widowed sisters were his constant attendants. He continued frequently to look at the family portraits, which hung round the room, with the most earnest and affecting expression, as if tracing the resemblances, and then naming them, one by one—"My dear Father," "My good Mother," "My dear brother William." These affectionate ideas seemed to occupy his mind to the latest moment.

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faithfully disbursed, and he returned to the bosom of the Giver!

He expired on the 6th of July, 1813.

The news of his death immediately drew forth marks of the highest respect from the public bodies with which he had been connected. Among the Directors of the African Institution, Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Wilberforce expressed their desire to accompany the funeral of their lamented companion: and, a meeting being summoned, the Duke of Gloucester, announcing with tears the loss they had sustained, proposed that Mr. Sharp's executors should be requested to allow a deputation of their Society to pay the last tribute of respect to his person, by attending his remains to the grave.

The circumstance is thus honourably noticed in the Eighth Report of the African Institution.—

"Since the last General Meeting, the Directors have been deprived by death of the assistance and services of their venerable coadjutor, Mr. GRANVILLE SHARP.

"As a mark of the high esteem and respect, which was entertained by the Board, for one who not only had been an active and unwearied Director of this Institution, from the time of its first establishment almost to the close of his long and well-spent life, but also one of the earliest and most able instruments, under Providence, in promoting the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the Board deputed *two* of the *Vice-Presidents*, and *three* of the *Directors*, to represent them at the funeral; which was also attended by some other distinguished Members of the Institution."

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The Bible Society was not behind-hand in its tribute of peculiar respect. The following advertisement appeared in all the public papers:—

"BRITISH AND FORRIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.

"At a Meeting of the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society, held at the New London Tavern, Cheapside, on Monday the 2d of August, 1813:

"The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be published.

"It having pleased God, in the course of his providence, to call GRANVILLE SHARP, Esq. to his heavenly rest, the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society feel a mournful pleasure in recording their veneration for his character, and their gratitude for his services. In him, the Committee recognise the venerable person, under whose auspices the Society was formed; the earliest and largest benefactor to their library; and one of the most regular, diligent, and useful attendants at the meetings for the transaction of business. While the Committee acknowledge the obligations of the Society to the extent and accuracy of his Biblical learning, they feel it their duty to bear particular and affectionate testimony to the integrity of his mind, the simplicity of his spirit, and the philanthropy of his heart. The Committee desire to bless God for having continued so long among them an instrument of so great usefulness; and they trust that the benefit of his labours may be perpetuated and extended by the influence of his example.

"JOHN OWEN,
JOSEPH HUGHES,
C. F. A. STEINKOPFF,
} *Secretaries.*"

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Nor were the expressions of gratitude, which the remembrance of his useful labours had called forth, confined to the metropolitan societies. At a meeting of the Shropshire Auxiliary Bible Society, held on the 13th July, 1814, the Rev. Archdeacon Corbett, in an affectionate encomium on Mr. Sharp's character (from which the following is an extract), noticed with particular distinction his public services. He remarked, when announcing the business of the day, that "they met under circumstances which excited no ordinary feeling, as they had to regret the decease of the first Chairman of the British and Foreign Bible Society."

"I had the honour" (continued the speaker) "and the happiness of his acquaintance for nearly the last thirty years of his existence upon earth. He was learned in no common degree: he was humble in the greatest degree. His benevolence knew no bounds; and his piety was exemplary. He may be looked upon, in his earlier exertions, as the author of whatever degree of personal liberty has been since restored to the inhabitants of Africa; and we view him, in his later labours, contributing to mature that plan by which the freedom of religious truth is now offered to all the world.

"Though nurtured in the bosom of the Church of England, he was her zealous disciple not so much from education as from conviction. He was deeply read in all the principles of natural and revealed religion; and his learning was more particularly employed in studying the writings of the Old and New Testament in their original tongues.

"I have a satisfaction in repeating, that this amiable

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man, to whom the term *Orthodox*, in its purest and best sense, may be perhaps more exactly applied than to almost any other person, was one of the early promoters of that plan by which the Bible is disseminated."

His remains, were on the 13th of July, deposited in the family vault at Fulham, the funeral being attended by Thomas John Lloyd Baker, Esq.; the Rev. John Hutton; Granville Wheeler, Esq.; Gregory Elsley, Esq.; and John Erskine, Esq., relatives;—and by the Right Hon. Nicholas Vansittart; Lord Calthorpe; William Wilberforce, Esq.; Thomas Babington, Esq.; Rev. John Owen; Thomas Harrison, Esq.; Sir Charles Blicke; and John Bayford, Esq.;—and by the family servants. The Service was read by the Rev. William Wood, Vicar.[1]

The following epitaph, written by the Rev. John Owen, Rector of Paglesham, in Essex, was placed on the north side of the tomb.—

HERE,
BY THE REMAINS
OF THE BROTHER AND SISTER WHOM HE TENDERLY LOVED,
LIE THOSE OF
GRANVILLE SHARP, ESQ.
AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-EIGHT, THIS VENERABLE PHILANTHROPIST
TERMINATED HIS CAREER
OF ALMOST UNPARALLELED ACTIVITY AND USEFULNESS,
JULY 6th 1813;
LEAVING BEHIND HIM A NAME
THAT WILL BE CHERISHED WITH AFFECTION AND GRATITUDE,
AS LONG AS ANY HOMAGE SHALL BE PAID TO THOSE PRINCIPLES
OF JUSTICE, HUMANITY, AND RELIGION,
WHICH, FOR NEARLY HALF A CENTURY,
HE PROMOTED BY HIS EXERTIONS,
AND ADORNED BY HIS EXAMPLE.

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To the former affectionate testimonies of respect was added another, of a still more public nature, announced in the same Report of the African Institution.

After noticing the deputation of Directors who attended Mr. Sharp's funeral, the Report proceeds:—

"Not conceiving that they should acquit themselves of the debt of gratitude due to Mr. Sharp for his assiduous and unceasing efforts in the cause of the Abolition by this measure alone, the Board are desirous to pay a more permanent tribute of respect to his memory; and for that purpose have in contemplation to erect a Monument in Westminster Abbey, which shall record his eminent services in the cause of humanity."

The Monument, thus proposed, has been since erected, in that part of Westminster Abbey so well known by the name of Poet's Corner. The work is executed by Mr. Chantrey, and exhibits, in the centre, a medallion of Mr. Sharp; and, on one side, in low relief, a lion and lamb lying down together; on the other, an African, in the act of supplication (taken from the seal of the African Institution).

The following is the inscription, written by William Smith, Esq., Member for Norwich.—

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SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF

GRANVILLE SHARP,

NINTH SON OF DR. THOMAS SHARP,
PREBENDARY OF THE CATHEDRALS AND COLLEGIATE CHURCHES OF YORK, DURHAM, AND SOUTHWELL,
AND GRANDSON OF DR. JOHN SHARP, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

BORN AND EDUCATED IN THE BOSOM OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
HE EVER CHERISHED FOR HER INSTITUTIONS THE MOST UNSHAKEN REGARD,
WHILE HIS WHOLE SOUL WAS IN HARMONY WITH THE SACRED STRAIN,
"GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, ON EARTH PEACE AND GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN,"
ON WHICH HIS LIFE PRESENTED ONE BEAUTIFUL COMMENT
OF GLOWING PIETY AND UNWEARIED BENEFICENCE.
FREED BY COMPETENCE FROM THE NECESSITY, AND BY CONTENT FROM THE DESIRE, OF LUCRATIVE OCCUPATION,
HE WAS INCESSANT IN HIS LABOURS TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND,
FOUNDING PUBLIC HAPPINESS ON PUBLIC VIRTUE.
HE AIMED TO RESCUE HIS NATIVE COUNTRY FROM THE GUILT AND INCONSISTENCY
OF EMPLOYING THE ARM OF FREEDOM TO RIVET THE FETTERS OF BONDAGE,
AND ESTABLISHED FOR THE NEGRO RACE, IN THE PERSON OF SOMERSET,
THE LONG DISPUTED RIGHTS OF HUMAN NATURE.
HAVING IN THIS GLORIOUS CAUSE TRIUMPHED OVER THE COMBINED RESISTANCE
OF INTEREST, PREJUDICE, AND PRIDE,
HE TOOK HIS POST AMONG THE FOREMOST OF THE HONOURABLE BAND
ASSOCIATED TO DELIVER AFRICA FROM THE RAPACITY OF EUROPE,
BY THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.
NOR WAS DEATH PERMITTED TO INTERRUPT HIS CAREER OF USEFULNESS,
TILL HE HAD WITNESSED THAT ACT OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT
BY WHICH THE ABOLITION WAS DECREED.
IN HIS PRIVATE RELATIONS HE WAS EQUALLY EXEMPLARY:
AND HAVING EXHIBITED THROUGH LIFE A MODEL OF DISINTERESTED VIRTUE,
HE RESIGNED HIS PIOUS SPIRIT INTO THE HANDS OF HIS CREATOR,
IN THE EXERCISE OF CHARITY, AND FAITH, AND HOPE,
ON THE SIXTH DAY OF JULY, A. D. MDCCCXIII., IN THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

READER,

IF, ON PERUSING THIS TRIBUTE TO A PRIVATE INDIVIDUAL,
THOU SHOULDEST BE DISPOSED TO SUSPECT IT AS PARTIAL, OR TO CENSURE IT AS DIFFUSE,
KNOW THAT IT IS NOT PANEGYRIC, BUT HISTORY.

ERECTED BY THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION OF LONDON, A. D. MDCCCXVI.

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CHAP. III.

MUCH has been said already of Mr. Sharp's character in previous parts of this narrative, and much will presently be added in the obituary recollections of his associates. It may yet be allowable to occupy a short interval with a few of such further remarks as the progressive view of his actions and undertakings has suggested.

In the varied and extensive course of his singular life, the reader has seen his conduct towards the great, towards his equals, and towards the poor and low; towards friends and strangers: he has seen him the champion of social rights, and of religious obedience and charity.

Equally void of diffidence and presumption, he claimed and obtained access to men in the highest situations of the state, less from the interest connected with his near descent from an Archbishop of York, than from the effect produced by the grave simplicity of his character, and an amenity of manners which could not be forbidden or resisted. The facility of intercourse with the great encouraged him to think that he might, by their means, be useful to others:—Hence the energy of his action with regard to the Slave Trade and Slavery, to the establishment

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of the colony at Sierra Leone, of Episcopacy and of Peace in the American Colonies.

Whenever he conceived that the interests of mankind were at stake, he discovered little or none of that artificial regulation of his thoughts, which is connected with what is called *worldly management*. In his plain declarations of religious or political truths, in his sudden introduction of great and momentous precepts, both in his conversation and letters, the fervency of his zeal bore not unfrequently the imputation of being abrupt and ill-timed. But these were distinctions which did not exist in his mind. He regarded life as a state of continued active preparation for the service of God: all times were, in his estimation, the proper times for pursuing what was right to be done, and no time so particularly proper as the present instant. Pure and blameless in himself, he wished to wipe off the stain of sin from his race.

It was with this view of our human condition, that, venerating and vindicating the precepts of his Saviour, and the just claims of his fellow-creatures, he stood forward, in the presence of all orders of society, to assert his own clear discernment of its obligations, and to arouse others to the execution of them; summoning every where the believer to the recollection and performance of his duty. Whether addressing himself to the Governors of our political State, or the Ministers of our religious Establishment, he considered them alike as especial and appointed

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instruments of one Eternal Principle, whose wisdom he humbly acknowledged and adored.

In his earnest applications to them, on public concerns of religion or justice, he exhibited a singular union of the utmost firmness in the pursuits of his purpose, with the most entire and unvarying respect to their persons and public character. While he lost no advantage which his unreserved frankness in the expression of his sentiments could procure to his cause, and while he offered the most awful admonitions to the most exalted stations, he was never found to infringe on the reverence due to national dignity. Of this admirable deportment, several of his conversations and letters inserted in this narrative are sufficient instances.

But neither did the abject condition of poverty and distress, any more than the splendid privileges of rank and station, prevent him from beholding in all men their essential condition, and the natural claims of our earthly existence. He looked up through man to his Creator.

His benevolence was not more disinterested and pure, than it was active and firm; and though his course of action might often for moments be diverted by visionary hopes, he as often recurred to its direct path, and never failed to pursue its main purpose with effect. He adopted no rash measures, he sought no subtlety, he rested on no subterfuge.

As he sought his universal rule of conduct in the Sacred Writings, while he made the interpretation of

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them the object of his most anxious study, he regarded his acquirements of knowledge, even from those Divine sources, as the *means* only, not the *end* of his wishes. His favourite text of Scripture was, "The tree which beareth not good fruit shall be cut down, and cast into the fire." He conceived that the doctrines of Christianity should not be confined to the pulpit, but should be carried uniformly into all the general concerns of daily life.

The high sense of his duty to the will of God, as revealed in the Scriptures, never for an instant deserted him. No human wisdom or authority stood in competition with this paramount obligation. The strong conviction of this necessity preserved him calm, humble, modest, and even timorous, in private life, and rendered him in public action the most fearless of men. His conduct and deportment in all questions of national or religious importance, were most truly of an heroic kind.

If he felt ambition—and what elevated mind is devoid of that feeling?—it was that alone of treading in the steps of his Divine Master. To obey, and humbly to adore, although the first, was not the *sole* object of his heart. He wished, and he dared to hope, that he might be permitted to imitate the Perfection which descended from above, and to preserve in his frail vessel some portion of the purity of that Light, which he had diligently sought for his guide. Had martyrdom been in his day a requisite proof of steadiness in the faith of a Christian, he was one for

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whom it might without danger of fallacy have been said, the grave had no terror, and death no sting.

The resoluteness of his character was very early formed. It was neither the result of long profession in the cause which he supported, nor engendered by its success. He has left in his memorandums a short account of a conversation with a friend in the year 1781 (while he was struggling in behalf of the West-Indian Slaves with little external prospect of success), in which it appears that the disclosure of his intrepid spirit was too plain to be mistaken *.

He was, therefore, far from destitute of that enthusiasm which is the powerful and necessary ingredient in every great enterprise. He felt a confidence, which the integrity of his heart could well justify; and the results, that attended his humble means of exertion, led him secretly to acknowledge a protection which surpassed the strength of man. Under the impression of such feelings many of his letters are evidently written; and, particularly in a letter to

* "Friday, March 23. Called on General Oglethorpe, who had been very ill, but much recovered. I read to him a part of my first letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, with which he expressed himself highly satisfied, and thanked God that he had lived to have those points so clearly opened to him: that, without the least degree of enthusiasm, he was satisfied God had made me an instrument of warning to this kingdom; that the actual accomplishment of heavy judgments in the kingdom, and its colonies, ought to convince me of it: that he feared I should be a martyr, because he trusted that I would honestly maintain my principles; but he hoped God would strengthen me to bear whatever might happen."……

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the Archbishop of Canterbury, he has described his persuasion, on reviewing the effects of his efforts, that a peculiar direction of Providence had guided his labours *.

The degree of Divine communication imparted to our mortal state, in whatever light it be regarded, must always furnish a topic of the most awful consideration. Whatever impression had been made in this respect on Granville's ardent mind, it is certain that his almost prophetic warnings were too frequently justified in the actual succession of events.

But in the commencement of his action he appeared to have been urged forward solely by a confidence in the rectitude of his aim. His distinguished course of benevolence was wholly practical, and only gradually led him to the accomplishment of the great objects, whose never-dying memory surrounds his tomb.

That he was an enthusiast in *one* point, who would wish to deny? He was an enthusiast in the doctrines of Christianity, *as delivered by Christ and his Apostles;* and he is among the proofs which the world has seen, that enthusiasm in those doctrines is productive of benefit to mankind.

Ardent in the profession of his faith, he showed, by his humility, charity, and gentleness of manners, the pure Source from whence he derived his religion,

* Part III., vol. ii. p. 9.

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and the Divine Pattern which was the object of his imitation.

It has been said, by the Author of the Obituary Memoir so often quoted, that "although Mr. Sharp was implacable towards the Papal religion, he would not have hurt a hair of the head of any Roman Catholic." No remark can be more truly well-founded. He did not consider the highest human virtue as exempt from error, or inconsistent with it. He lived in habits of friendship and intimacy with many men of all religious persuasions, and particularly with Roman Catholics and Quakers,—the two distinctions of religious profession against which some of his most severe observations were openly levelled.

"Having founded a faith precious to himself, he wished to propagate that faith: but zeal in him was tempered by mildness and benignity; and although he viewed some doctrines even with abhorrence (if so strong a term may be applied to so gentle a mind), yet he was ready to relieve, to the extent of his income, the wants of all his fellow-creatures, without distinction of sect or party, without consideration of country or of colour." Such is the character given by Archdeacon Corbett, in the eloquent eulogium before mentioned. "I had the melancholy consolation," he adds, "of visiting Mr. Granville Sharp a short time before his decease. Life was then rapidly retreating; but still his regard for others preponderated over every consideration for himself. His urbanity was undiminished; and even politeness,

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which in him was not fictitious, but natural benevolence,—his politeness even, at that awful period, was as active as ever."

In consequence of his tract, entitled "An Apology for an Apology," &c., he was largely engaged in controversial correspondence on the religious opinions and practices of the Quakers; and he conducted it with the same candour, manly firmness, and discretion, that at all times accompanied his researches. It was in this manner that the eminent rule of his ingenuous mind, described in his first letter to Dr. Fothergill, was enforced on the observation of those who acted with him. Let it now stand an example for our conduct in similar points. The reader will pardon the single repetition in this place.—"Experience has taught me to make a proper distinction "between the *opinions* of men and their *persons*: the "former I can freely condemn, without presuming to "judge the individuals themselves. Thus freedom of "argument is preserved, as well as Christian charity; "leaving *personal judgment* to Him to whom alone "it belongs*."

It is true, that, as a general principle, Mr. Sharp's

* Of his practice, founded on this rule, sufficient instances appear in his correspondence with the respectable Quaker to whom this letter was addressed; in a letter addressed to his friend Benezet, on similar topics; and in his letters to Dr. Lanthenas and others, at the period of the French popular Revolution.

One of his answers to Dr. Lanthenas proves the united complacency and strength of his mind. It is eminent as an example

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theory of separating the offender from the offence, differs from that of every good man in little else than in the *mode of declaration;* namely, that punishment, or coercion, should never be influenced by, or in any manner conjoined with, hatred or malice to the criminal. It is also universally admitted, and particularly as a Christian's duty, that we ought to do good to the worst of men, as far as we can do so without danger or inconvenience to those who depend on us (including ourselves), or to general society. But the world owes a debt of gratitude to any one who institutes a new form, or rule, of practical application, in concerns of general morality and importance to our daily happiness: and Mr. Sharp's maxim is valuable in this respect. It is easily born in mind; and, when put in practice, is of immediate efficacy in promoting mutual forbearance and benevolence among mankind.

of the spirit of Christian benevolence, in which the Truth should ever be maintained.

A later letter, designed to have been sent to Benezet, appears to have been withheld, from the dread of giving pain to him in a state of health not calculated to support the conflict of argument. It is found among the MSS., and has this superscription:—"G. Sharp to Anthony Benezet: a second letter. G. S. wrote to A. Benezet July 1774, and Mr. Benezet replied in November 1774. Several years afterwards, in August 1783, G. S. promised an answer to the first letter of 1774; but before it was transcribed from the rough copy, a letter from Dr. Rush, dated 27th April 1784, informed G. S. that Mr. Benezet was then seventy years of age, and in bad health." A postscript of the same letter, dated 15th May following, mentions his death.

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Such, indeed, is the tendency of a far more extensive precept, offered to us in the whole tenour of his life. He displayed the venerable example of an almost perfect peace of mind, preserved and maintained through a constant course of vigorous action.

Ever gentle and amiable spirit! may the seeds of charity sown by thee in so many hearts produce in their season an abundant harvest, and offer to the sight of the Creator a grateful return for his bounties! May the lesson of thy philanthropy be diffused over latest ages, and teach the child of man, while he aspires to chasten error in the strong, or lift the weak and wretched from the dust, to love and venerate, in all, the fellow-creature—the equal work of God!

Two letters, here annexed, will aptly close Mr. Sharp's history, and supply all that is yet deficient in the delineation of his character: the first sent to the Rev. Mr. Owen, on the day of Mr. Sharp's interment, apologizing for the absence of one of the Deputies named by the African Institution to attend his funeral at Fulham; the second from Mr. Owen himself, to the Writer of this Narrative, with such information concerning his departed friend, as a long intimacy enabled him to impart, and the reader will not fail to value as it deserves.—

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To the Rev. John Owen, Fulham.

" My dear Sir—

" It was my full intention to testify to-day my regard and affection for our departed friend, by joining the mourners at his funeral. Owing, however, to the sudden illness of the only person who could supply my absence, I am compelled to substitute this apology to you, and, through you, to the friends of this venerable and lamented saint. I have been much mortified by this circumstance, not only as it deprives me of the opportunity of showing this last token of respect to this great leader in every work of piety and beneficence—this emancipator of Africa, this father of the Bible Society—but as it puts it out of my power to execute my part of the trust, delegated by the African Institution, of assisting to convey his remains to the house appointed for their repose, until that day arrive when all that was mortal of him shall put on immortality. I had anticipated no small benefit to myself, from having my thoughts turned to the contemplation of an honoured character, who, for near eighty years, had stemmed the tide of oppression and corruption; who, animated by a simple view of his duty, and that Christian philanthropy which emanates from the love of God and Christ, stood before kings and judges in the cause of the friendless and the faint; who laboured for God and man with unexampled assiduity and perseverance, and who yet made no account of his labours; who waged no war but with the devil, and the works of the devil and the flesh; and whose highest enjoyment arose from the advancement of God's spiritual kingdom in his own soul, and from the anticipation of its full establishment in every heart. I verily believe that a purer and more upright mind, one more single in its aim and intention, and more unequivocally scrupulous as to the

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rectitude of his means, more simply directed to the glory of God and the good of man, has never left this world.

"Ever yours, my dear friend,

"ZACHARY MACAULAY."

From the Rev. John Owen.

[EXTRACT.]

(In reply to several inquiries.)

"My dear Sir— "Fulham, March 25, 1816.

....."I am not acquainted with the occasion of Mr. G. Sharp's writing and publishing his tract on several important Prophecies. He was a man of constant observation; interpreted all the passing events, political and religious, with a reference to Scripture Prophecy; and generally wrote and published under impressions for which a satisfactory account (I mean satisfactory to others) could not always be given. His principle was sound. He considered the world as under the administration of the Messiah, to whom all power had been given both in heaven and on earth. He regarded, therefore, every occurrence as forming part of that administration, and as ministerial to the purposes of Christ's spiritual kingdom. The Bible was his *text*; the events of every day were his *commentary*. The error to which he was liable (an error from which the wisest and the best have not been wholly free) was that of laying too much stress on the exactness of a mode of interpretation, which, from its very nature, must be doubtful and uncertain. In regarding the Papacy as the grand apostacy, and unrighteousness as the besetting sin of political authority, he was strictly correct. Nor can he be enough admired (or the grace of God in him) for the undaunted courage and unwearied perseverance with which he maintained these scriptural positions against every species of corruption, both in Church and State. But the

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love of his principle, and the influence which it had on his own heart and conduct, would not permit him to make any, the least, allowance for the mixed and imperfect state of human affairs. He was for bringing back every thing to the standard from which it had deflected, and that with a degree of rapidity and decision often inapplicable to the case, and seldom compatible with a peaceful and orderly return to integrity and justice. I say this merely that you may know my opinion of what I must call his *errors*. These errors, indeed, are splendid sins; and I heartily wish the best virtues of some who have been, and are still, admired as great and good men, were not inferior to the worst of his errors. God appeared to have raised him up and qualified him for the work of political and moral reformation. He had, in a measure, the spirit and the power of Elijah: he was zealous for the Lord of Hosts, and he hated iniquity with a perfect hatred. With all his ardour for reform (an ardour which only expired with his life), he was full of loyalty and subordination. He revered the throne and the altar, and stood in the gap between those who would overthrow them, and those who wished to convert them into instruments of gain and oppression. In short, I would say of him, and can from a long and intimate knowledge of his character do so most conscientiously, that the Church had not a more dutiful son, the King a more loyal subject, and Mankind at large a more sympathizing friend and brother.

"His knowledge of languages, considering the limited nature and time of his education, was surprising. Besides his native language, he understood French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the Syriac and Chaldee dialects. For the acquisition of these he was principally indebted to his own exertions, prompted, not by an ambition for literary fame, but by a desire to understand the Holy Scriptures in their

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original texts, and to possess the means of carrying into effect, both by reading and communication, the great purpose to which his life was devoted, that of promoting glory to God, and peace and good will among men."

"With great regard, &c.

"JOHN OWEN." *

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* Besides the distinguished notices of Mr. Sharp's decease already mentioned, many other obituary tributes to his memory were given to the world in various respectable publications, from which some extracts are here subjoined, because they are evidently the effusions of sensible and pious minds, and have a tendency to strengthen the impression of so much worth on the reader, and, of course, to render the example more largely beneficial.

"At Fulham, on the 6th July last, died Granville Sharp, Esq., in the 78th year of his age;—a man of varied learning, and pre-eminent philanthropy; whose life was most actively and perseveringly devoted to promote the best interests of his species, under a deep sense of his responsibility to God. He was a man of singularly gentle and modest and courteous manners; but, in a cause which he deemed important, especially when it involved the rights either of his great Lord and Master or of his fellow-men, he was no less singularly bold and intrepid. With peculiar, and perhaps mistaken, views on some political and Biblical subjects, which might have exposed him to be undervalued by many as a man of understanding, and with a style of composition which was far from attractive, he nevertheless was a most efficient instrument in operating some mighty changes in the opinions and conduct of nations;—changes which will immortalize his name, while the idea of liberty is cherished, or fearless and unwearied and self-denying and successful exertions for the happiness of mankind are admired among men. But the praise of men was not the prevailing motive to exertion with this distinguished individual: he did what he did, as unto God.....

"He was truly the friend of the friendless. What he possessed, he regarded as belonging to the poor: he was himself

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Such are now the memorials of a name which, by a long progress of religion, virtue, and beneficence, has been rendered—not *illustrious*, for the blessings

but a sharer, in common with them, of the necessaries of life which it could purchase: and many are now doubtless mourning his departure, of whom the world knows nothing, to whom he had been as an angel of God, drying their tears, and causing their hearts to sing for joy!"—*Christian Observer.*

"Granville Sharp is now no more. Full of years, and far beyond any usual period for active exertion, when he took the chair at the meetings of the 'Protestant Union,' he no less wisely than benevolently gave the final sanction of his name to a measure the most necessary at the time 'for the defence and support of the Protestant Religion, and the British Constitution, as established at the GLORIOUS REVOLUTION in 1688.' This was his legacy to his country.

....." He was, to speak most briefly of him, a man in whom the truly constitutional love of liberty was exceeded only by a piety of the highest order and most judicious temperance; who studied politics only to benefit the community, and religion only to purify and defend his own faith, and that of his brethren. His benevolence was equal to his piety."—*British Critic.*

"We cannot refuse ourselves the gratification of dwelling for a moment upon a theme, consecrated in the hearts of all who revere exalted worth, and delight to contemplate a long course of quiet and peaceful, but unremitting, exertions for the liberties and happiness of mankind. In preserving the names of other virtuous men from the temporary oblivion into which more dazzling and perishable glories are wont to cast them, it is frequently necessary to exhaust the arts of composition, to display arguments which may convince, or to seek, amidst figures and periods, the road to congenial feeling. But he who would hold up this venerable philanthropist in the most striking

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which fell on it were breathed from lips that could not confer *celebrity;* from those of the poorest and humblest of society; from the houseless exile, from the captive, and from him who had none to help him;—but *sacred,* in the records which are written in the bosoms of the good and wise, and which ANGELS KEEP and PERPETUATE!

light, has only to tell faithfully and plainly the story of his actions. Unaided by any authority or party in the State—before any of those benevolent institutions existed which have since done so much honour to the age—opposed by the opinions of lawyers and the most rooted prejudices of the times—he fought, by his single exertions, and at his individual expense, the most memorable battle for the Constitution of this country, and in its consequences for the interests of the species, of which modern times afford any record.....He abolished a Slave Trade carried on in the streets of Liverpool and London....It cannot be doubted, that when those distinguished persons (who formed the Deputation of the African Institution) attended the remains of Granville Sharp to the grave, they mourned the extinction of the light which at first went before to guide them in their course, and had ever since been their faithful companion." —*Edinburgh Review.*

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MEMOIRS

OF

GRANVILLE SHARP.

PART VI.

Literature and Writings.

CATALOGUE, BY MR. SHARP, OF THE BOOKS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF, AND OF OTHER WORKS IMMEDIATELY RELATING TO THEM.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS, BY THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

ADDITIONAL TESTIMONIES.

BRIEF REMARKS ON HIS MORAL AND POLITICAL WRITINGS.

CONCLUSION.

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PART VI.

CHAP. I.

A FEW of Mr. Sharp's publications have been noticed, with a particular view, in the early part of these Memoirs. The following complete Catalogue, with his own accompanying notes, is printed from a folio MS. left among his papers. It is entitled,

An Account of Books written and published by G. Sharp, and also of some other Books that have been written either for or against his publications.

[*The Books not written by Mr. Sharp are marked* χ.]

No. 1. Answer to the Rev. Dr. Kennicott's Charge of Corruptions in the Hebrew Texts of Ezra and Nehemiah. (2d Edit. 1775)... 1765

The proper title of this little book is, "Remarks on a printed Paper lately handed about, entitled, 'A Catalogue of the sacred Vessels restored by Cyrus, and of the chief Jews who returned at first from the Captivity; together with the Names of the returning Families, and the Number of the Persons at that Time in each Family; disposed in such a manner as to show most clearly the great Corruption of proper

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Names and Numbers in the present Text of the Old Testament.'" The Author of the Remarks was cautious not to oppose Dr. Kennicott any farther than his own printed Paper really required; and therefore the Remarks were not published in the ordinary way, but given gratis to those persons only who could produce a copy of the Doctor's own printed paper. The effect of this was agreeable to what is recommended in the last paragraph of the Remarks—viz. that the Doctor was obliged to give up his intentions of correcting the Hebrew text, and to abide by his first proposals, offered in 1760, of printing his new edition of the Hebrew Bible (not with a new text, but) from one of the best editions already published, having the various readings inserted at the bottom of every page.

No. 2. On Vocal Music. (2d Edition 1777.) 1767

No. 3. On the Pronunciation of the English Tongue, in French and English; and the same in English only ..... both in 1767

No. 4. Remarks on several important Prophecies, in Answer to Dr. W——ms. In five Parts. (2d Edition 1775.) 1768

A reply to this work was promised by Dr. W——ms, every time he met G. S., for about two years; and at length G. S. received an anonymous book, being an attempt to set aside the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel (from whence the evidence was principally drawn which confuted the Doctor's former work). G. S. was too much engaged at that time to undertake an answer to this; but two very able replies very soon appeared—one by the Rev. Mr. Velthusen, of the Savoy Chapel, a very learned German Divine; and the second by the learned Dr. Caleb Fleming, who, though a Socinian, very ably and zealously defended the sacred text from this calumny, under the feigned name of Theophilus; —and neither of these gentlemen were at all aware of the original cause of this controversy. By the latter, some very strong proofs were given that the Magi did not come to Jerusalem to inquire for the Messiah, until the beginning of the second year after his birth, by which many difficulties are removed in

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comparing the accounts given by St. Matthew and St. Luke. And this explains the wicked motive of Herod for extending his murderous cruelty to all children under two years of age; for "he had privily called the wise men, and diligently inquired of them what time the star appeared." (Matt. ii. 7.) For otherwise his murders might have been limited to children under two months old, instead of two years.

No. 5. "A short Account of that Part of Africa inhabited by Negroes:" (First printed at Philadelphia in 1762.) To which is added, an Account of the Endeavours of the Society for propagating the Gospel to instruct Negro Slaves in New York, with two Letters by Bishop Gibson on that Subject: to which is added, a Conclusion by the Editor (G. Sharp) 1768

No. 6. A Representation of the Injustice of tolerating Slavery 1769

Written during the action commenced against the Author by James Kerr, Esq., of Jamaica, for having liberated a Negro, Jonathan Strong. The action, after two years impending, was dismissed, with treble costs, in favour of the defendant; this work having been circulated in MS. during that time, in about twenty copies: after which it was printed.

Ditto, reprinted at Philadelphia in America, by Mr. A. Benezet 1769

No. 7. Remarks concerning Encroachments on the River Thames, near Durham Yard 1771

No. 8. An Appendix to the Representation against Slavery 1772

No. 9. Remarks on the Opinions of the most celebrated Writers on Crown Law, respecting the due Distinctions between Manslaughter and Murder—viz. against Duelling. (2d Edition 1790.) 1773

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No. 10. A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature;—against the Attempts to tax America, and to make Laws for her against her Consent 1774

No. 11. A Declaration of the People's natural Right to a Share in the Legislature; containing a Defence both of America and Ireland, stating the Illegality of those declaratory Acts of Parliament called Poining's Acts (January)..... 1775

Ditto, printed in Ireland 1776

N. B. A few years afterwards the Irish Parliament repealed the obnoxious Acts. This change seems to have prompted the English Administration to procure the Union of the two kingdoms, which they rendered extremely dangerous, by permitting Irish Papists to vote for Representatives; for which trust they are utterly unqualified, because their principles and practices have ever been contrary to the two first foundations of English law.

No. 12. The Law of Retribution; or, a serious Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, founded on unquestionable Examples of God's temporal Vengeance against Tyrants, Slaveholders, and Oppressors.. 1776

No. 13. The just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God. To which is added, a Plan for the gradual Abolition of Slavery in the Colonies 1776

No. 14. The Law of passive Obedience; or, Christian Submission to personal Injuries.... 1776

No. 15. The Law of Liberty 1776

No. 16. Addition to the Preface of the Sailor's Advocate. (A Work of General Oglethorpe.) 1777

No. 17. The Law of Nature and Principles of Action in Man. (2d Edit. 1807, 3d Edit. 1809.) 1777

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No. 18. The Case of Saul; intended as an Appendix to the Law of Nature in Man, &c. 1777

No. 19. An Address to the People of England against the Suspension of Law, and also stating the Illegality of impressing Seamen 1778

No. 20. Doctrine of "Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi" explained, and its due Limitations 1779

This was written in 1771, in defence of the Duke of Portland, with success.

No. 21. The Legal Means of Political Reformation. In seven Tracts 1780

All these seven tracts were afterwards (in 1797) printed in one volume, with an Index to the whole: making the number of editions as follows:—

Tract No. 1. Equitable Representation necessary to the Establishment of Law, Peace, and good Government, &c. (Written March 1777: printed 1780.)..... } 7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.

Tract No. 2. Annual Parliaments the ancient and most salutary Right of the Commons of Great Britain. (Written in 1774: printed 1780.).. } 7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.

Tract No. 3. A Defence of the ancient, legal, and constitutional Right of the People to elect Representatives for every Session of Parliament, not only "every Year once," but also "more often if need be." (Dated 22d March 1780: printed 1780.)..... } 7 Editions: 8th jointly 1797.

Tract No. 4. A Circular Letter to the several petitioning Counties and Towns, against a late Proposition for a triennial Election of Representatives, instead of the ancient Constitution of electing "every year once, and more often if need be." (April 1780.)..... } 5 Editions: 6th jointly 1797.

Tract No. 5. Appendix to the legal Means of political Representation. (Dated March 1780.)..... } 3 Editions: 4th jointly 1797.

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Tract No. 6. The Claims of the People of England: being Remarks on a little Book published under that Title, which contained the principal Articles of the Act of Settlement; showing the dangerous Alterations that have since been made in that very important Act, and the necessity of restoring the original Principles of it. (Written March 1782.)..... } 5 Editions: 6th jointly 1797.

Tract No. 7. An Appendix to the second Edition of Mr. Loft's Observations on a late Publication, entitled, "A Dialogue on the actual State of Parliaments," and on some other Tracts equally inimical to the Constitution of "Free Parliaments," being a farther Examination of Mr. Hatsel's Precedents of Proceedings. (Dated May 1783.)..... } 1 Edition: 2d jointly 1797.

No. 22. Free Militia; consisting of seven distinct Tracts..... 1781

These tracts were published at different times, but printed altogether in one volume, with a complete Index to the whole, in 1782.

Tract No. 1. The ancient Common Law Right of associating with the Vicinage to maintain the Peace. (Written in 1780.)..... } Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 2. A General Militia, acting by Rotation, is the only safe Means of defending a free People. (Written in 1780.)..... } Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 3. Remarks concerning the Trained Bands of London (Written in 1780.)..... } Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 4. Remarks on the Militia Laws for London. (Written in 1780.)..... } Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

Tract No. 5. Hints of some general Principles useful to Military Associations. (Written in 1780.)..... } Separately 1781: jointly 1782.

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Tract No. 6. Remarks upon a Plan, proposed by a respectable Member of the Corporation of London, for rendering the Militia of London useful, &c. Written with a View to prevent the said Plan from introducing the Establishment of "a regular Military Corps" with constant daily Pay (i. e. a Standing Army), in the City (which afterwards unhappily took place.) (Written in 1781.)..... } Separately 1782: jointly 1783.

Tract No. 7. Proposals and Remarks, &c., delivered to a respectable Magistrate of London, by G. Sharp, in 1781, to promote the training of the City Militia, that they might be truly and effectually Trained Bands, according to their usual Title ..... } Separately 1782: jointly 1783.

No. 23. A Tract on Congregational Courts and the ancient English Constitution of Frank-pledge, the Right of choosing Magistrates and Officers of the Militia. With an additional Tract on the Election of Bishops, and others on forming New Settlements 1784

This Tract was particularly useful in promoting Episcopacy in America. Even Dr. Franklin (bred a Dissenter) and Dr. Rush declared their approbation of it, in letters to the Author: and the two first Bishops that were sent to England for consecration, declared that they should not have been sent, had not the Author's endeavours prompted the business.

Ditto, second Edition, with a complete Index added 1786

Memorandum.—Partly from the last-mentioned Tract on Frank-pledge (No. 23), and from the seven Tracts on a Free Militia (No. 22), a plan was drawn up by Dr. Lanthenas, M.D., at Paris, to establish the rights of the French people, and their national representation by annual elections, in a similar effectual mode of frank-pledge and free militia,

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without martial law. The whole system is most compendiously included in about twenty-three pages, octavo, though extracted from more than five hundred pages. It is entitled,

χ "Necessité et Moyens d'établir la Force publique sur la Rotation continuelle du Service militaire, et la Representation nationale sur la Proportion exacte du Nombre des Citoyens."—Printed at Paris, in 1792.

This little work was approved by Monsieur Rolland, who sent fifty copies of it as a present to G. S., under his official seal as Minister of the Interior. But that worthy and able Minister, and the other true friends to a limited and legal Government, were horribly persecuted, and either driven from their country or murdered by the Papistical Jacobins, who acted under a deceitful cloak of liberty and infidelity, that they might restore the baneful power of standing armies, and an uncontrolled despotism, without which the Papacy could not be restored again to its supreme establishment in France. But if this plan of frank-pledge and legal militia had been adopted a little sooner, so that the majority of the people might have had time to have felt and perceived their own ability and true interest in maintaining justice, law, and peace, among themselves, they might at this time have been a free people, instead of being rendered an enormous and most dangerous band of martial slaves, acting under the irresistible compulsion of a military despot, as a baneful scourge to all neighbouring nations.

No. 24. Is the before-mentioned French Publication,
χ which, by being formed from the several Tracts of G. S., ought of course to be placed in this Collection 1792

No. 25. An English Alphabet for the Use of Foreigners, wherein the Pronunciation of the Vowels is explained, in twelve short Rules, with their several Exceptions, as abridged (for the Instruction of Omai) from a former Work printed in 1767 (2d Edition 1801.) Third Edition, with an

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Appendix apologizing for the English Mode of pronouncing the Latin Tongue. 1786

No. 26. Regulations for a New Settlement at Sierra Leone. (2d Edition.) 1786

Ditto, with a Preface to Negroes and People of Colour, and other Additions. (3d Edition.) 1788

No. 27. Free English Territory in Africa; being a Description of the District lately purchased by Government for the New Settlement at Sierra Leone 1790

No. 28. A Description (from Captain Dampier) of the most useful Trees and Fruits in the East Indies: (printed for the Use of the Settlement at Sierra Leone.) 1790

χ

No. 29. A Tract on Duelling, with the Distinctions in Crown Law between Manslaughter and Murder. (First printed in 1773.) Second Edition, with Additions 1790

The doctrine of this tract was thoroughly adopted in the practice and judgments of the late Lord Kenyon, and has been approved also by Lord Ellenborough, the present Lord Chief Justice.

No. 30. Plan of a public Charity, with three Appendixes 1790

No. 31. Letter to a Committee of the Corporation of London appointed to inquire into the State of the London Workhouse. Printed by Order of the Common Council of London 1791

No. 32. Causes des Calamités publiques qui régnent à présent par-toute l'Etendue de l'Empire Romain 1792

This was a letter sent in MS. to a Foreign Nobleman, but afterwards printed, and many copies have been sent to France.

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No. 33. A Collection of political Papers, with Remarks on the Accomplishment of Prophecies. (Reprinted 1797.) 1792

No. 34. Extract of a Letter from Dr. B. Rush, of Philadelphia, to G. Sharp, respecting the Liberation of the Blacks in Pennsylvania, and the Establishment of an African Church at Philadelphia. Printed by G. S. 1792

No. 35. Extract of a Letter from G. S. to a Gentleman in Maryland, respecting the extreme Wickedness of tolerating the Slave Trade, in order to favour the Illegalities of our Colonies, where the two first Foundations of English Law (the two Witnesses of God) may be said to lie dead, &c. First printed in America. (3d Edition 1797; 4th Edition 1806.) 1793

No. 36. A general Plan for laying out Towns and Townships in new-acquired Lands, to promote Cultivation, raise the Value of the adjoining Lands, and to promote the Peace and Security of the Inhabitants by the System of Frank-pledge. (2d Edition 1804.) 1794

No. 37. Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament. Written by G. Sharp in 1778, and published with a Preface by the Rev. Thomas Burgess (now Bishop of St. David's); with an Appendix, by the learned Editor, of (1st) a Table of Evidences of Christ's Divinity, by Dr. Whitby, and (2d) a plain Argument from the

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Gospel History for the Divinity of Christ. (2d Edition 1802.) 1798

No. 38. The Child's First Book improved, with a Preface addressed to Mothers and Teachers. (2d Edition 1805.) 1801

No. 39. An Answer to an anonymous Letter (dated September 1777) on Predestination and Free-will, with a Postscript, on eternal Punishments 1801

No. 40. Extract of a Letter of G. Sharp's, on Land-Carriages, Roads, and profitable Labour of Oxen. Appended to "A Letter to Sir John Talbot Dillon, on the comparative Advantages of Oxen for Tillage in Competition with Horses, by Colonel William Tatham." (Dated 1794.) 1801

No. 41. Six Letters to Granville Sharp, to confirm χ his Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, by the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, ... 1802

No. 42. Six more Letters to Granville Sharp, con- χ demning his Remarks on the Greek Article, by Gregory Blunt, Esq. 1802

No. 43. The Third Edition of the Tract on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament, with an additional Preface and several Appendixes by the Author, and also Extracts from the British Critic, the Christian Observer, the Christian Guardian, and Orthodox Churchman, confirming the Principles of it 1803

No. 44. Three Tracts on the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew Tongue, with an

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Appendix, addressed to the Hebrew Nation 1804

The Grammatical Rules in these tracts have since been separated from the variety of other subjects which the Author had blended with them, by the late Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Horsley, and translated into Latin, for the use of schools, with an additional Rule of his own.

No. 45. An Inquiry whether the Description of Babylon, contained in the eighteenth Chapter of the Revelations, agrees perfectly with Rome, as a City, &c.; with Prefaces, and an Appendix, addressed to the Roman Catholics 1805

No. 46. Copy of a Letter to a Clergyman in Ireland, respecting the proposed Catholic Emancipation 1805

No. 47. Serious Reflections on the Slave Trade and Slavery. Written in March 1797. Addressed to the Peers of Great Britain ... 1805

No. 48. A Vindication of certain Passages in the common English Version of the New Testament: addressed to Granville Sharp, Esq., Author of the Remarks on the Uses of the Definitive Article in the Greek Text of the New Testament. By the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, A. M. 1805

No. 49. A Dissertation on the supreme Divine Dignity of the Messiah, in answer to the above-mentioned Vindication 1806

No. 50. Remarks on the two last Petitions in the Lord's Prayer; with an Appendix extracted from the Rev. Dr. Lort's short Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, including all that he wrote on the two last Petitions of it 1806

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No. 51. The System of Colonial Law compared with the eternal Laws of God, and with the indispensable Principles of the British Constitution 1807

No. 52. A Letter, in Answer to some of the leading Principles and Doctrines of the People called Quakers: originally addressed to Mr. Anthony Benezet, of Philadelphia, in the year 1784. Printed in the year 1807, with a Preface and Appendix, addressed to the People called Quakers, not as a publication, but only for private communication among themselves 1807

No. 53. The Case of Saul. (2d Edition, with Additions.) To which is also annexed, "Remarks on 1 Tim. iv. 1—3." 1807

No. 54. A Letter to Granville Sharp, Esq., respecting his Remarks on the two last Petitions of the Lord's Prayer, from a Country Clergyman (Rev. Mr. Dunster, of Petworth, Sussex). Being a general Confirmation of G. Sharp's Tract on that Subject 1807

No. 55. A Letter to Granville Sharp, in MS., by Dr. Middleton of Norwich; sent with a copy of the Doctor's learned work, entitled, "The Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament" .....

No. 56. Jerusalem: in Answer to Inquiries respecting the Etymology of that Word 1808

No. 57. Melchisedec; or, an Answer to a Question respecting the Reality of Melchisedec's

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Existence, as King of Salem and Priest of the Most High God 1810

No. 58. Remarks on the Most Rev. Dr. ———'s Catechism; revised, enlarged, approved, and recommended by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, as a general Catechism for the Kingdom 1810

No. 59. Modus Decimandi. (Half-sheet 4to.).... 1811

No. 60. Remarks on an important Passage, Matt. xxi. 18, which has long been perverted by the Church of Rome in Support of her vain Pretensions to supreme Dominion over all other Episcopal Churches 1812

No. 61. Charge delivered to the Clergy of the
χ Peculiar of the Deanery of Hereford, July 30, 1812, by G. Gretton, D. D., Dean of Hereford, wherein the Pretensions of the Popes of Rome to Supremacy in the Catholic Church are shown to have no Foundation in Scripture nor in the Constitution of the primitive Christian Churches 1812

In p. 11 the learned Dean refers to the text which is the subject of the preceding Remarks, No. 60, and particularly recommends the criticism on that passage by G. S.

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CHAP. II.

THE history of Mr. Sharp's literature is scarcely less remarkable than that of his life and actions. It will be found, that the singular humility of the Author had not only forborn to admit even the justest tribute of contemporary praise, but had tended, as far as its operation could reach, to suppress any public acknowledgment of the obligations which he had conferred on learning. Under the influence of this principle, he seems almost to have trespassed on veracity. But in a mind sincerely humble the brightness of intellect serves only to increase the sense of human insignificance. This feeling was so habitual, that when he was requested to look over a *biographical sketch*, which had been printed in a periodical work, and of which he was the subject, on finding a statement of his learning expressed in very high terms, he wrote the following comment in the margin:—

"G. S. is by no means entitled to the character of '*a good scholar, well read, &c.*' for he never read or studied more than what was unavoidably necessary on those few subjects which from time to time seemed to demand his unexperienced endeavours, on each particular occasion which excited his attention."

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On another passage, which speaks highly also of his *musical learning*, he remarks, in the same manner,—

"G. S. is indeed *an admirer of music*, but by no means a '*great proficient*.' His pretensions are only to choruses, and such other full pieces of music as are sufficiently plain and easy to be performed by any ordinary performer*."

He has left on record, in other parts of his notes, his own testimony of his uninformed state, when he first became the Advocate for the oppressed Africans, with "so little pretension to any knowledge of law, that he had never once opened any law-book, to consult it, till compelled on that occasion;" and of his "natural slowness, or *snail-like tardiness*, in the prosecution of his study."

In the same manner he observes, on a passage in his "Remarks on several important Prophecies,"

"When I first wrote this opinion, and communicated the MS. to Dr. W——ms, I apprehended the thought to be entirely new, *so little am I acquainted with the republic of letters*, for want of leisure and opportunity to read."

* In the same unpretending manner he speaks of his valuable collection of Bibles in all the various languages of Christian learning. After adverting to the compliment paid to his library, on account of *its extensiveness* (a term, he says, which can no otherwise be applicable than from his books being *separated in several different places*), he adds, "This collection of Bibles is so far from being the best in the kingdom, that it is not worthy of the least comparison with many other well-known collections."—Of the justice of such an assertion, the persons into whose hands the collection has fallen, are the best judges.

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All these testimonies, though they do not bear on the degree of his learning, point strongly to a part of his character before noticed. But the modesty with which he describes his various attainments is in nothing more remarkable than in his reply to the Hebrew Professor at Cambridge, who had thought it right to avow, in his public lectures, the assistance which he had received from his Remarks on some passages of Holy Writ*.—He observes,

"It is necessary (as well for your own sake, as for the dignity of the important office you hold in the University), that I should give you due previous caution that I am not *a regular scholar*, and that the little knowledge I have acquired has been taken up entirely without the instruction of any master; so that my name must not even be mentioned, as having the least degree of authority, to influence either the opinions or practice of any regular scholar."

In another letter, also, to the Bishop of St. David's, who proposed to bind one of his tracts "On the Messiah" with a religious work of a similar size written by the Bishop of London, he suggests his "doubts how far that learned Prelate may approve of such a connection with a layman, and *no scholar*."

Our respect is involuntarily heightened by perceiving that such acknowledged powers of research were not excited by any thirst of fame.

His disposition to reading, and his delight in books, were evinced at a very early period of his life; for he

* See vol. ii. pp. 374, 375.

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used to relate of himself, that he "read all the plays of Shakspeare in an apple-tree in his father's orchard at Rothbury;" and he remembered the greater part of them accurately. He had read Hudibras, and Allan Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd," at the same time, and always delighted in them.

Although he was master of the various languages mentioned in Mr. Owen's letter*, and read also Italian and Spanish, he spoke none but his native language, or only French imperfectly.

With regard to the style of his writings in general, although his plain and strong sense was as clearly as powerfully expressed in most of them, his want of early classical instruction prevented his compositions from being either methodical or graceful. They were, on the contrary, too frequently diffuse and embarrassed †. It is true, he *sought* no grace in writing; no praise; no result, but the great purposes to which (as his friend has observed) his life was devoted,—the diffusion of truth, and the promoting of "glory to God, and peace and good-will among men." He had also the judgment to discern that the *best* style which could be adopted by one not early inured to literary arrangement, was the *simplest;* that, wanting the collision of youthful practice, it was a fruitless waste of time to seek the *elegancies* of

* Vol. ii. p. 334.

† On this defect he received the friendly animadversions of his brother, Dr. John Sharp; and one of his letters contains his own apology in reply.

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writing; and that attempts at *style* by men in his predicament, seldom effected more than a display of some favourite modes of expression, which are apt to wear, in the eyes of others, an appearance of affectation.

A just estimate of Mr. Sharp's learning, and in particular his religious learning, could only have been formed by persons who were intimately conversant with the subjects to which he had devoted his attention. Those persons were few; but from them we shall receive the most unequivocal testimonies of the nature and value of his studies.

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CHAP. III.

OBSERVATIONS ON MR. SHARP'S BIBLICAL CRITICISMS,

BY THE

RIGHT REVEREND

THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

MR. GRANVILLE SHARP was learned in languages from principle, not from curiosity, or the mere pleasure of literary research. His objects in the study of Hebrew and Greek were, exclusively, the love of truth, the glory of God, and the good of his fellow-creatures. No man's mind was ever less actuated by vanity and ambition. He was singularly fortunate in the application of his learning to the illustration of the original languages of Scripture. His doctrines of the Greek Article, and of the Hebrew Conversive *Vau*, and of other particularities of the Hebrew language, though not unknown to scholars before his time, had all the merit of discovery, and more than that merit in the valuable use which he made of them. His most decided belief of the supreme Divinity of Christ, and his ardent zeal to maintain the doctrine against Jewish and Socinian objections, made him a critic and philologer, and led him to those grammatical principles and analogies so

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decisive in their result that Jews and Socinians cannot misconstrue or dispute them, without denying the most direct and acknowledged usages of grammar.

His doctrine of the Greek Article was violently opposed by Socinian writers, but without the least injury to its principle, and with a strong presumption in its favour; for such a violence of opposition would never have been excited by any publication which had not struck at the vitals of Socinian unbelief. The ample confirmation which it has received from the concurrent interpretation of all the ancient Greek Fathers of the Church, in Dr. Wordsworth's elaborate and candid work, has given it a stability which may bid defiance to all the sophistry employed against it.

It is no longer a question, whether the Rule proposed is capable of the application which has been given it, or whether the chief passages, to which it has been applied by Mr. Sharp (Eph. v. 5; Tit. ii. 13; 2 Pet. i. 1), will admit the sense which the Rule requires; for the only sense in which the Greek Fathers understand that important passage, for instance, Tit. ii. 13, is that which is ascribed to it by Mr. Sharp. It appears, also, from Dr. Wordsworth's investigation of the subject, that the various forms of expression contained in the passages relative to the Divinity of Christ, which are the subject of the Rule, were constantly used by Greek writers, from the first century to the latest period of the Greek language, in the sense required by the Rule; and that *that* was the uniform doctrine of all the ancient Churches.

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The Rule was more temperately opposed by the Rev. Calvin Winstanley, in his "Vindication of the commonly received Version*;" to which tract the Bishop of St. David's replied at large, in his "Evidence of the Divinity of Christ from the literal Interpretation of Scripture†."

The learned Rector of Killesandra, in two valuable works (his "Analysis of Ancient Chronology," and his "Faith in the Holy Trinity"), has some remarks on Mr. Sharp's examples, which, as they tend, in some measure, to impeach the credit of the Rule, must not pass unnoticed. Dr. Hales, who has most learnedly and ably maintained the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the Divinity of Christ, admits the validity of the general Rule, but objects to the example of Jude ver. 4. "The accuracy of the "general Rule, as it respects both *diversity* and "*identity*, is fully established by MIDDLETON" [late Bishop of Calcutta], "pp. 79 and 571, from the "usage of sacred and profane Classics. But SHARP "himself allows that the Rule may sometimes prove "rather *too much*; and in this instance especially "(Jude ver. 4) may be liable to favour the Sabellian "heresy, followed by the Swedenborgians, that Christ "is the only God (p. 51); and MIDDLETON has

* "Six Letters to Granville Sharp, Esq."

† Reprinted in a volume of Tracts, entitled, "Tracts on the Divinity of Christ, and on the Repeal of the Statute against Blasphemy."

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" proved that the Rule requires limitations, especially " in the case of proper names, which often form " exceptions to it*."

Mr. Sharp has so carefully guarded the Rule by limitations, especially in the case of proper names, one of its exceptions, that I do not perceive in what respect the Rule can ever " prove too much." The Rule may be misapplied to incongruous examples, but that is not the fault of the Rule, but of him who applies it.

In the present instance, Dr. Hales is mistaken in supposing that Mr. Sharp " allows that his Rule " may sometimes prove rather too much, and that it " may be liable to favour Sabellianism." His words are—(p. 58, 3d edit.)—" But the applying to Christ " the *supreme* title,—'*the only Potentate, God;*' and " also, in the former text, the *supreme* title of '*the* " *great God*,'—may, perhaps, induce *some persons* " to conceive that this grammatical system of con- " struction, if admitted as a rule for all texts in " which the same mode of expression renders it " applicable, will sometimes prove rather too much, " and may be liable to favour a modern sect of " *Unitarians*, who have adopted the Sabellian notions " of the late Baron Swedenborg, and who assert that " '*Jesus Christ is the only God.*'"

But Mr. Sharp is far from " allowing that the

* " Analysis of Ancient Chronology," vol. ii. p. 856; " Faith in the Holy Trinity," vol. ii. p. 299.

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" Rule may sometimes prove rather too much." He says that " *some persons*" may be induced to think so; but he concludes, from his review of the passage, that the effect of his grammatical Rule *will not* (in the opinion of those who rightly consider the supreme attributes of each Person of the Godhead) appear to exceed the truth. He says (p. 65), " The *true* " *Unitarian* Christian, who acknowledges but *one* " *God, one Jehovah, one Divine Nature* (Θεοτης) " or *Godhead;* and at the same time, nevertheless, is " convinced that *three Divine Persons* are really " revealed to us under the title of *Jehovah* in the " Old Testament, and under the title of Θεος, or God, " in the New Testament; and that the *supreme attri-* " *butes* of the DIVINE NATURE are applied to each, " in both Testaments; will, of course, be aware also " that each of these Divine Persons must necessarily " be '*the great God*' and '*the only Potentate,*' as " there is but '*one God,*' *one only supreme Power or* " *Godhead.* So that the effect of my grammatical " Rule, when applied to the two particular texts " before mentioned (viz. Tit. ii. 13, and Jude 4), " will not (in the opinion of such true Christians) " seem to exceed the truth."

Dr. Hales quotes from Æschines τον Αλεξανδρον και Φιλιππον, as a case precisely in point to the passage in St. Jude, and as a proof that Κυριον may be there used without the article, as a distinct person from Δεσποτην and Θεον. But as Αλεξανδρον is strictly a proper name, and never used otherwise,

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and Κυριος is not strictly a proper name, and is generally used otherwise, it can hardly be said to be precisely in point.

Be that, however, as it may, the common version of Jude ver. 4, "our only *Lord God*," cannot be right, for another reason distinct from Mr. Sharp's Rule. The term *Lord*, in the expression *Lord God*, is never expressed by Δεσποτης, either in the Greek version of the Old Testament, or in the Greek text of the New Testament, our only proper authorities, but always by Κυριος, with ὁ Θεος. See 1 Pet. iii. 15; Rev. iv. 8, xv. 3, xviii. 8, xx. 6, xxi. 2, xxii. 5. See also Gen. ii. 4, 15, 16, 18; iii. 8, 13, 14, 21; iv. 6, 9, 15, &c. If, therefore, the words of St. Jude had been meant of the Father, they would have been Κυριος ὁ Θεος, not Δεσποτης Θεος. Dr. Hales's translation, "the only *sovereign God*," is liable to the same objection as the common version, in connecting Δεσποτης with Θεος.

The passage should be pointed so as to detach Θεον from Δεσποτην, and connect it with its appropriate term Κυριον, thus: Τον μονον Δεσποτην, Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων, Ιησουν Χριστον αρνουμενοι. In this construction of the passage, Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων (with which τον μονον Δεσποτην is in apposition), can belong only to Ιησουν Χριστον. Thus St. Peter applies the term Δεσποτης to Christ, in a similar expression: Και τον αγορασαντα αυτους Δεσποτην αρνουμενοι. 2 Pet. ii. 1. And, synonimously with ΜΟΝΟΣ Δεσποτης, Christ is called by St. Paul ΕΙΣ

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Κυριος, "ONE Lord;" and by St. Matthew, ΕΙΣ καθηγητης, ὁ Χριστος, "ONE Master, even Christ." The words of St. Jude, therefore, Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων, should be translated, "OUR GOD AND LORD."

The passages quoted by Wetstein and Dr. Hales from Josephus and Justin Martyr, are by no means in point; because in those examples Δεσποτης is not in construction with Θεος, as in the common version of St. Jude, "the only Lord God," and Dr. Hales's "sovereign God;" but with ὁλων and παντων, *the Lord of all;* and is the predicate of Θεος. It is the construction of Θεος with Δεσποτης in the common version, as well as in Dr. Hales's, that renders their translations contrary to the usage of Scripture, in which "the Lord God" (Jehovah Elohim) is always expressed by Κυριος ὁ Θεος. The unscriptural appearance of Δεσποτης Θεος was probably the cause of the omission of Θεος in some Manuscripts.

The construction and punctuation here proposed for the words Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων, Ιησουν Χριστον, "*our only Master, God and Lord,* Jesus Christ," give no countenance to the Sabellian heresy, and at the same time afford a clear and strong testimony to the Divinity of Christ. Hammond translates the passage thus: "*Our only Master, God, and Lord, Jesus Christ.*"

I cannot close this subject better than with the substance of Mr. Sharp's First Rule, and with the principal examples to it.—

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" When two personal nouns of the same case are
" connected by the copulate και, if the former
" has the definitive article, and the latter has
" not, they both belong to the same person."

" 2 Pet. i. 11.—Του Κυριου ἡμων και Σωτηρος, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

" 2 Thess. i. 12.—Του Θεου ἡμων και Κυριου, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our God and Lord, Jesus Christ.*

" 2 Pet. i. 1.—Του Θεου ἡμων και Σωτηρος, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

" Tit. ii. 13.—Του μεγαλου Θεου και Σωτηρος ἡμων, Ιησου Χριστου. *Our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ.*

" Jude 4.—Τον μονον Δεσποτην, Θεον και Κυριον ἡμων, Ιησουν Χριστον. *Our only Master, God and Lord, Jesus Christ.*"

Mr. Sharp's *Hebrew Rules*, though not of so marked importance, as to doctrine, as those of the Greek Article, are of great utility in clearing the difficulties of Hebrew construction. Bishop Horsley was so much pleased with the Rules relating to the Hebrew Conversive *Vau*, that he was desirous of giving them a more permanent form than their English dress, by translating them into Latin. But he died before he had put Mr. Sharp in possession

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of this proof of his learning and friendship. Mr. Sharp made some inquiries after this paper, but without success.

To the usefulness of these Rules the learned Prelate contributed what was of more value than a Latin translation. In his correspondence with Mr. Sharp he suggested a Rule, which, with some variation, Mr. Sharp adopted, and considered of so much value, as a means of resolving the difficulties of many passages of the Hebrew Scripture, that he has left in writing a memorandum, directing it to be inserted in a future edition of the Hebrew tracts, as a *fifth* Rule, instead of that adopted from Rabbi Elias.

The Rule suggested by the Bishop of St. Asaph was, that "*perfect tenses with the prefixed Vau are always converted to future tenses*, except *at the beginning of a sentence.*"

From this exception Mr. S. has extracted that Rule which he calls the Bishop's, "with some small variation in the form." With this variation Mr. Sharp's Rule stands thus—viz. *that* "*perfect tenses with the prefixed Vau are not converted in the beginning of a sentence.*"

In order that the reader may possess all the necessary information respecting this important Rule, we think it right to lay before him Mr. Sharp's own observations, expressed in a manuscript memorandum which he has left behind him.

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MS. '*Memorandum concerning any future Edition*
'*that may be made of G. Sharp's three Tracts on*
'*the Syntax and Pronunciation of the Hebrew*
'*Tongue.*

'N. B. In any future edition of this work, it will
'be necessary to add a rule of syntax proposed to
'G. S. by the learned Dr. Horsley, late Bishop of
'St. Asaph, which (with some small variation in the
'form from that proposed by the Bishop to G. S.)
'will supersede the necessity of retaining the fifth
'Rule, adopted by G. S. from Rabbi Elias, and will
'afford an easy explanation to many very difficult
'texts.

'The Rule proposed by Bishop Horsley was as
'follows: "That perfect tenses with prefixed ו are
'always converted to future tenses, except at the
'beginning of a sentence."

'On this Rule the following remark by G. S. was
'submitted to his Lordship's consideration, together
'with a very large collection of examples, which,
'after his Lordship's death, were returned to G. S.
'by his executors.

'The remark by G. S. submitted to the Bishop
'was as follows.—

'The truth of the latter part of the Rule—viz. the
'exception—is sufficiently proved, I believe, by the
'great number of examples sent herewith; and
'therefore it should be an established rule, that
'"perfect tenses with prefixed Vaus are not con-
'verted at the beginning of a sentence."

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'Several examples (for the explanation of which 'G. S. was obliged, before he received this Rule, to 'have recourse to the Rule of Rabbi Elias) are much 'more easily explained by this Rule of the Bishop 'of St. Asaph. For instance: the first verb, וַיֵּלֶךְ, 'in 1 Sam. vii. 16, will afford a remarkable example 'of the Rule, if this verse may be allowed to be the 'beginning of a sentence, to which it seems entitled 'by an obvious reason,—that it describes several 'circumstances of Samuel's transactions sufficiently 'distinct from that general one mentioned in the pre- 'ceding verse, to justify the opinion that it ought to 'be deemed a new sentence, though included in the 'same narrative. The verb וַיֵּלֶךְ being at the begin- 'ning of this verse, is most naturally construed in 'the perfect tense, according to the sense of the 'context, as well as according to the Rule. But 'the next verb, in the middle of the verse, וְסָבַב, seems 'to forbid the Bishop's supposition, as first proposed, 'that "perfect tenses with prefixed Vaus are always 'converted, except at the beginning of a sentence;" 'because this second verb is an example to the con- 'trary, as also the next following verb (the third) 'וַיָּשָׁב. And therefore it is much more easy and 'obvious to refer to the second Rule in this work, 'as the reason why the two last-mentioned preter 'tenses are not converted, than to be obliged to sup- 'pose that this single verse should be divided into 'three sentences: for that necessity would render 'the Rule not only less obvious in general, but

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'also much more difficult, and consequently less 'valuable.

'The corrected statement of Bishop Horsley's 'Rule ought therefore to be inserted in all future 'editions of this work, as the Fifth Rule of Hebrew 'Syntax, instead of that adopted from Rabbi Elias; 'as it is much more easy and intelligible, and will 'render the system of Hebrew syntax perfectly com- 'plete, so as to enfranchise the students of Hebrew 'in future from the arbitrary shackles of that most 'perplexing and unreasonable system of vowel points, 'by which our Hebrew Bibles are most shamefully 'dotted, and disfigured as if they were blurred and 'defiled by flies! — See Tract I. pp. 63, 64; and 'Tract III. pp. 28—30.

'Much important and unquestionable evidence 'against the pretended antiquity of punctuation may 'be added from Calmet's "Dictionnaire Historique, '&c. de la Bible," printed at Paris in 1722, under 'the word מסר, "Tradidit."'

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CHAP. IV.

ALTHOUGH no greater evidence can be given of the esteem, in which Mr. Sharp's Scriptural researches were held by the learned writer of the preceding pages; yet some additional testimonies from the same source (found among Mr. Sharp's papers), may with propriety be added in confirmation of it.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

[EXTRACT.]

" Dear Sir, " Durham, December 15, 1792.

" I have had both pleasure and instruction in the perusal of the several learned and interesting papers which you most obligingly sent me. There are two which *I have selected for transcription,*—' A Letter concerning the Use of the Greek Article,' and ' The Grammatical Rules of Construction for the Greek Tongue, applied to the several Texts of the New Testament,' &c.

" With great respect, dear Sir," &c. &c.

" T. BURGESS."

From the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of St. David's, to the Right Hon. Henry Addington (Lord Sidmouth.)

[With Mr. Granville Sharp's Tract on the Greek Article.]

" Dear Sir,

" I beg you to accept a copy of a new edition of a book, which was first *published* by me, but which the Author has much improved, and *republished.* I am persuaded that I

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cannot make you a more valuable present than a book which *contains, in a small compass, the most solid evidence of the Divinity of Christ.*

"Your ever obliged and grateful Servant," &c. &c.

"T. ST. DAVID'S."

To these testimonies the Bishop thought fit to add a public declaration of his approval of the same Tract, in his Diocesan Charge to his Clergy in the year 1804. A vindication of Mr. Sharp's construction of the several texts alluded to forms also a part of a work now preparing by him for the press*.

The following extracts, from letters of another learned Prelate, relate to some points mentioned in the "Observations."

From Dr. Horsley, Bishop of St. Asaph, to Mr. G. Sharp.

"Dear Sir, "5th July, 1804.

"I return you many thanks for your very valuable work upon the Hebrew syntax. . . . . You have cleared up the mysteries of the *Conversive Vau*, which never had been treated with any degree of accuracy by any grammarian before you. Your Rule about *Binoni* seems to me no less valuable. I think, if the grammatical Rules, with select examples of each, were published in a small tract by themselves, it might be introduced with great advantage in such of the public schools in which the rudiments of the Hebrew language are taught in the upper forms."

* "Evidence of the Divinity of Christ, from the literal Testimony of Scripture, containing a Vindication of Mr. Sharp's Rule from the Objections of the Rev. Calvin Winstanley; with Observations on Right Principles of Interpretation." 2d Edit. 1815.

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From the Same to the Same.

" Dear Sir, " 20th July, 1804.

. . . . . " The grammars taught in our public schools are always in Latin; and for that reason I wished very much that your Rules should be turned into Latin, and make an Appendix to be added to the Westminster Grammar: or, if not added to it, if it were published by itself by the Westminster Printer, it would make its way among school books; and in Latin it might find its way into the Continent. In this I am so much in earnest, that I have myself almost finished a Latin translation of your Rules," &c.

" You have laid the foundation of a more perfect theory of the *Conversive Vau*, and other parts of the Hebrew syntax, than we have ever yet possessed: and I much wish your Rules should become generally known, and make a part of our Hebrew Grammar." &c. &c.

Other acknowledgments of Mr. Sharp's Scriptural learning appear in several letters from various persons.—

From the Rev. Henry Lloyd, D. D., Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" Sir, " Cambridge, 15th January, 1798.

" I am quite at a loss for words to express the satisfaction with which I have perused your letter, or the sense of gratitude occasioned by the communications it contains. As I consider myself countenanced by Dr. Blayney and yourself with respect to the *Masoretic* Points, I shall enter upon my course of public instruction with comfort.

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"Your extraordinary kindness encourages me to hope that I shall soon experience new marks of it, provided you have leisure.

"I confined my late application to the subject of Masoretic points and pronunciation, because I was taking an almost unwarrantable liberty, in consideration of a slight acquaintance. Now that I find you so ready to oblige, my desire of whatever critical or other information you may have time and goodness to impart can no longer be suppressed.

"Your obliged humble Servant," &c. &c.

From the Same to the Same.

"Sir,

"With no less reluctance than gratitude, I return your letters, in hopes of your only wishing to consult them previously to an account of your sentiments with respect to consonants.

"Before our correspondence commenced, I had fixed on the mode of pronunciation set forth in the enclosed, as matter of expediency, but have recommended and privately taught the use of Masoretic Points, as necessary for understanding a valuable Jewish comment on the SS.

"Considering how long Hebrew literature has been neglected here, my lectures have been well attended; and I have, on occasion, avowedly availed myself of the contents of your letters.

"Should your zeal for the propagation of scriptural knowledge incline you to assist my imperfect endeavours, by transmitting any dissertations, I shall be happy in making the same use of them, and with the same candour.

"With a deep sense of gratitude for your communications, I remain,

"Your much obliged," &c. &c.

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From the Rev. Mr. Ettrick to Mr. G. Sharp.*

"† Rev. Sir,

"I have been much obliged and gratified by the present of your Remarks upon the Roman Catholic Catechism, not only because it was accompanied with an approbation of the principles of my Reflections on the expected Exodus of the Jews, but far more so on account of the pleasure I received in reading that valuable tract, which stamps a character of authority on most of the positions advanced by me, and establishes on undeniable grounds a very important fact.....

"The learning, and great knowledge of books, by which you have settled these points beyond controversy, are not easily accessible to many of us minor writers: and we are therefore the more sensible of the obligation due to you, for the better exertion of more competent abilities in the cause of injured truth.

"I was favoured by Dr. Gray with a sight of your former learned publication on the 'Inquiry,' &c., and have only to regret that I did not meet with it before my book was too far advanced to allow me to profit by it as I might have done.

"I remain, Rev. Sir, your obliged," &c. &c.

* Author of "The Second Exodus, or Reflections on the Prophecies of the last Times," &c.

† The epithet here used by Mr. Ettrick was very frequently applied to Mr. Sharp's name, by those who were unacquainted with his real situation.

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From Dr. Gray, Rector of Weremouth and Prebendary of Durham, to Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Bishop Weremouth, November 24, 1806.

" I have only waited for your address, which I received yesterday, to express my very sincere acknowledgments to you for the very important observations which you have been kind enough to send me upon ' The Key to the Old Testament,' all of which are highly deserving of the greatest attention; and, should I have occasion to publish another edition, I shall thankfully avail myself of them. Your very accurate and critical knowledge in Hebrew, I knew, particularly qualified you for the task which you have taken the trouble to perform, and made me anxious to obtain your remarks.

" We have, I believe, now, all your printed works in our library, and they form a very interesting collection, remarkable for the variety and correctness of the discussions which they contain. I regret that the Memorandum which you sent was not accompanied with another manuscript, which you have written, if I mistake not, on the circumstances of the present times, which seem to exhibit a development of prophecy." &c. &c.

From the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke to Mr. Granville Sharp.

" My dear Sir,

" Accept my best thanks for the pamphlets. Your important remarks on Matt. xvi. 18, I have taken the liberty to insert in my notes on Luke ix., at the end. Had I seen them before I printed Matthew, I could have made my note there more accurate. I believe your notion of the passage to be strictly correct, and the best yet published. It was highly necessary *at these times*; and, to give it the widest

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circulation in my power, I have printed almost the whole of it in the place above referred to.

"Yours very respectfully," &c.

The remarks just mentioned (by Dr. A. Clarke) were also so highly approved by Dr. Gretton, the late learned Dean of Hereford, that he expressed his approbation of Mr. Sharp's explanation of the text, in a printed Charge addressed to the Clergy of his Deanery.

One other eulogium is of too great importance to be omitted.

From Dr. Magee*'s "Discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice."

....."This position is substantiated by a wide range of examples in the Letter on certain Particularities of the Hebrew Syntax, written by Mr. Granville Sharp, whose acute and valuable philological inquiries, as well in that and his other letters on the same subject, as in his investigations of the Greek text, cannot be too highly commended. The labours of this learned layman reflect honour upon himself, and, what he appears to have much more at heart, light and intelligence upon the Sacred Text."

The following letter relates to the Society for Conversion of the Jews.

To Mr. Granville Sharp.

"Rev. Sir, "Jews' Chapel, Spitalfields, January 29, 1812.

"Since the first instant, we have been in expectation of

* Now Archbishop of Dublin.

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receiving your criticisms upon the first half-sheet of the Version of the New Testament into the Hebrew language; and as we have placed much reliance upon the benefit of your attainments in that tongue, we hope that you will not disappoint us.

"We remain, &c.

"T. FRY,
JOSEPH FOX,
"Secretaries to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews."

Some other testimonies* of a complimentary kind show a still more general opinion of Mr. Sharp's learning and piety.

From William Whitwell, Esq., to Mr. G. Sharp.

"Dear Sir,

"Mr. Mousley, the author of a memoir recommendatory of a translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language, is very desirous of an interview with you. I have a second edition of the memoir, with additions, to put into your hands, at his request. Will it be agreeable for you to say by the bearer whether Mr. Mousley can see you, either at Garden Court, or in the City?

"Respectfully yours," &c. &c.

* An additional testimony to Mr. Sharp's Hebrew learning, is also given in the Rev. Mr. Whitaker's "Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures;" but the passage is mixed with too much controversial matter for insertion in this place.

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To Granville Sharp, Esq.

" Dear Sir, " Upper Mary-le-bone Street, May 20, 1790.

" A very eminent and learned man, the Professor Zimmerman, from Brunswick, so famous for his geographical knowledge, and particularly in what regards Africa, has desired very much to have the honour of being introduced to you. As his time of staying here is very short, I take the liberty of sending to know what morning it would suit you to see him at your house.

" With great respect and sincerity," &c. &c.

" C. S. WADSTROM."

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CHAP. V.

MR. SHARP's moral writings exhibit so intimate an union of moral and religious doctrine, that it is difficult in general to draw a line of distinction between these, and such as more expressly treat of religious topics. They are equally friendly to the happiness of man, and directed with equal steadiness in search of the sacred light of truth. One great governing sentiment directed the performance of them; and to the reader of his life, the nature of that sentiment needs not now to be described. Indeed, if the whole of his life and writings could be fully set forth to view in each particular, such was the consistency of his opinions and actions, that the reader of the one might almost be said to have read the other likewise.

In his "Law of Nature" and "Law of Liberty," his principle of moral action is wholly grounded on his faith in the holy Scriptures. He contends against the doctrine of *self-love* being the sole ruling principle in the human mind; asserting, that the knowledge of good and evil, derived from our first parents, is a principle *at least equally* universal; and that the precept of *reciprocal consideration*, or of doing to others as we would that others should do to us,

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"whether it is inculcated by Divine Revelation, or merely by the natural instinct in man, of knowing good and evil, may justly be esteemed a fundamental axiom of the law of nature."

The clear discrimination, with which he considers this precept, as a rule of action, is fairly opposed to the objections raised against it, by feeble or faithless theorists, in his "Law of Passive Obedience." "The same benevolent principles," he there writes—"viz. *universal love and charity*—founded on the great commandment, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which obliges the true Christian most disinterestedly to forgive all personal injuries, and pass over every affront offered to his own person, will necessarily engage him, on the other hand, as disinterestedly to oppose every degree of oppression and injustice which affects his brethren and neighbours, when he has a fair opportunity of assisting them. From hence arises the zeal of good men for just and equitable laws, as being the most effectual means of preserving the peace and happiness of the community, by curbing the insolence and violence of wicked men."

The command, therefore, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," he calls the *golden rule*,—"the *paternal precept*, to which the Creator has graciously reduced the rule of our obedience."

His opinions concerning spiritual agencies are fully developed in the first of these tracts: "Such," he says, "is the compound nature of man, that inquiries

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concerning human nature, and the principles of human actions, cannot be fairly and usefully defined, without a careful examination of the human claim to Divine inspiration; nor, indeed, without a careful warning also against that very opposite spiritual influence, which is equally liable to alter human nature, and become the principle of action." (p. 98.)

The devotion of his mind to *good* is every where apparent: "Honesty, indeed, is the best policy even for a selfish man to pursue; and it is certain that the solid attainments of virtue and justice afford a real and substantial satisfaction, which in the end most amply fulfils the purposes of self-love." (p. 7.)

His moral tenets are, again, further connected with his political ones: "That which some men call natural liberty, is the most unnatural tyranny; for when the immutable necessity of reciprocal consideration is forgot, or set aside, there can be no safety among men, and, consequently, no natural liberty. We must therefore submit ourselves to be the servants of law, in order to be truly free, according to the excellent observation of Cicero: 'Legum denique idcirco omnes *servi* sumus, ut *liberi* esse possimus.'" (p. 6.)

Such is the nature of his reasoning throughout these and other works. One mind, one intention, is visible in the treatment of every subject which he sets before him; and he branches out occasionally on all the different parts which combine to fill the

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character of the religious thinker and moral agent in the various duties of life *. No safer or more friendly guide can be found for those who seek for peace of mind in the result of their actions.

His "Law of Liberty, or Royal Law," relates more particularly to that freedom of choice, and offer of Divine assistance, which is tendered to us by the Gospel, for the just regulation of our conduct towards mankind.

In whatsoever concerns human conduct, his "*splendid sin*" of an unyielding adherence to perfect principles, has been described by Mr. Owen †. It pervades all his writings, as it pervaded his life and conversation.

His political writings all assert the social liberty of man, and claim for him the highest privileges of his individual and social condition under a well-ordered government. Liberty is his darling object. His very figures of writing are frequently drawn from that source. The reader will recollect, that in the posthumous memorandum on a Hebrew Rule, inserted in the preceding chapter, as well as on a previous occasion, he speaks of *enfranchising* the student from the *shackles* of the Masoretic Points ‡. But the

* A too great diffuseness in this respect must be regretted as a fault in his MODE of compositlon; but it may be considered as fully overbalanced, on examination, by the value of the *matter*.

† Vol. ii. p. 334. ‡ Ibid. p. 264.

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liberty which he extolled, and claimed for all, was regulated by his view of religious and social obligations. It was at all times tempered by a strict loyalty to the Throne (the interests of which he considered as inseparably united with those of the People), and no less subjected at all times to the precepts of the Christian faith. In this respect, he held that there was one law for individuals and nations: it was, in fact, the liberty of mutual beneficence.

The *extirpation of slavery* forms the principal aim of many of his writings. The "Law of Retribution" is a powerful appeal, founded on events of the Jewish history, to all conditions of men, for that end; but principally designed to expose the criminality and danger of those who hold their wretched African captives in servitude *.

* There is a singular passage in this work, which indicates a species of *hereditary* interest, on Mr. Sharp's part, in the sufferings of Africans.—

"The lamentable fall of Africa was the very example by which my own Grandfather, nearly a century ago, warned the House of Commons concerning our national danger.

"'That Africa,' said he, 'which is not now more fruitful of monsters than it was once of excellently wise and learned men,—that Africa, which formerly afforded us our Clemens, our Origen, our Tertullian, our Cyprian, our Augustine, and many other extraordinary lights in the church of God,—that famous Africa, in whose soil Christianity did thrive so prodigiously, and could boast of so many flourishing churches,—alas! is now a wilderness. "The wild boars have broken into the vineyard, and eaten it up, and it brings forth nothing but

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The concluding pages of this tract contain a peroration so energetically prompted by *nature* (for his compositions give little indication of *art*), and uttered with such prophetic dignity, that it cannot fail to strike all readers. After stating the example of the four "chiefs of the children of Ephraim," who preserved the captives of Judah from the slavery to which they were destined by Pekah, the King of Israel *, he proceeds thus:—

"But *Great Britain*, though staggering under a much heavier load [than Israel] of the same kind of guilt, has not produced, out of her numerous Peerage, *one single chief* to stand up 'for the land,' and remove her burthen! Mark this, ye Right Reverend Fathers of our Church, who sit with the Princes of the realm to consult the welfare of the state! Think not that I am inclined, through any misguided prejudice, to charge *your Order*, in particular, with the omission: the *crying sin* has hitherto been far distant from your *sight*, and perhaps was never fully represented to you, or, like '*faithful*

briars and thorns," to use the words of the Prophet. And who knows but God may suddenly make this church and nation, this our England, which, Jeshurun-like, is waxed fat and grown proud, and has kicked against God, *such another example of the vengeance of this kind?*'—*Archbishop Sharp's Sermons*, vol. ii. Serm. I, entitled, *Repentance the Means for averting God's Judgment:* preached before the House of Commons, April 11, 1679."

* Second Book of Chronicles, chap. xxviii.

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watchmen of Israel,' you would long ago have warned our nation of the danger. But I now call upon you, IN THE NAME OF GOD, for assistance! *Ye know the Scriptures*, and therefore to you, my Lords, in particular, I appeal! If I have misrepresented the Word of God, on which my opposition to slavery is founded, point out my errors, and I submit: but if, on the other hand, you should perceive that the texts here quoted are really applicable to the question before us; that my conclusions from thence are fairly drawn; and that the examples of GOD'S VENGEANCE against TYRANTS and SLAVE-HOLDERS ought strictly to warn us against *similar oppressions*, and *similar vengeance*; you will not then, I trust, be backward in this cause of GOD and MAN. *Stand up* (let me entreat you) '*for the land*; MAKE UP THE HEDGE' to save your country: perhaps it is not yet too late! Enter a solemn protest, my Lords, against those who '*have oppressed the stranger wrongfully*.' Ye know that the testimonies I have quoted are of God *."

The tract "On the Injustice of tolerating Slavery, or even of admitting the least Claim to private Property in the Persons of Men in England" (the first specimen of his sentiments on the subject), has before been noticed. The result of its production

* This is the passage to which he alludes in his MS. 1779, expressing his satisfaction at finding that "the Bishops did not oppose or take amiss the appeal" which he had made to them two years before. (p. 187.)

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may be considered, in a great measure, similar to that of one of the instances of his *religious writings*, described by the Bishop of St. David's. In his investigation of the rights of African strangers in England, he may be said to have corrected the then existing interpretation of a part of the British Laws, and to have rescued from obscurity and misapprehension one of those numerous expressions of dignified humanity, which characterize our invaluable Constitution.

In that remarkable Tract, instead of diverging into subtleties or remote points of the subject, he set forward by laying aside completely the metaphysical parts of the question, and rested the whole weight of his argument on unanswerable points of English Law. He could only have been successfully controverted by proving that his law-quotations were not correct,—a circumstance which his assiduity rendered impossible. Throughout the whole of his reasoning in that work, there is a singular mixture of humility with an entire self-possession and determinateness, which were the fruits of his zeal and comprehensive labour *.

His collection of Legal Memoranda †, on the occasion of the several trials of African Slaves, was calculated to form a valuable enchiridion for every

* ——— "cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo."
HOR. *de Art. Poet.*

† Not published.

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Englishman desirous of knowing on what grounds his personal liberty is secured.

Of his printed works on other constitutional points, and particularly on those of our Parliamentary Rights, it may be remarked, that (in the same manner as in the tract on Slavery) he offers in them no opinion of which he does not openly exhibit the ground, as derived either from the ancient or existing laws of England. Throughout his political writings, his veneration for the modes of England's Government kept pace with that which he showed for her Church; and where he sometimes censured Ministers and Judges, he thought they deviated from the path prescribed to them by the admirable system of our political establishment.

The system of frank-pledge (including the duties of *watch and ward)* had his decided preference, because he thought it the best security for human liberties under Government, and because he considered it as derived from the most perfect of social ordinations, the Israelitish commonwealth, happily assimilated and united with the laws of our Saxon ancestors. Impressed with these ideas, he presented his tract "On Congregational Courts" to Mr. Pitt, in 1784 *; and, in a letter also "to the

* It was accompanied with the following introductory note.—"The Author of the enclosed book has ever preferred public good to private emolument, and cannot fail, therefore, to be impressed with a most cordial esteem for a Minister of State

Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer," dated 19th December 1808, after "warning him of gross perversions of the English Constitution of state, which were completed in that year," and of their necessary consequences, he adds,—"I sincerely believe that a full restoration of the ancient legal frank-pledge is the only measure, in the

who has most nobly pledged himself, '*as a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly*,' to promote a parliamentary reformation.

"The book contains some information on that point not generally known, though founded on much higher authority than that of the Author (or rather Compiler) of it, who has no claim to any other merit in this business, except that of a laborious research, and much reading, to bring the information to light. The want of an index has compelled him to subjoin some references to such particular points as have any relation to the worthy Minister's plans of reformation.

. [Those relative to frank-pledge are]—

"Constitutional remedy for the present national immorality and corruption would be found in the re-establishment of the ancient *views* of frank-pledge ..... Page 185 to 189

"That frank-pledge (i. e. the ancient government by tithings, hundreds, &c.) was ordained by Magna Charta to be 'kept entire' 98

"That Sheriffs, &c., have already ample powers, without any new law, to re-establish frank-pledge in their respective jurisdictions; and the advantages of such a re-establishment ..... 147 to 149

"A short account of the happy effects of the tithings, or numerical divisions of a community 27 7

"Of burgage-tenure, and the rights of householders or deciners ..... 39 to 53

"That to restore those rights would be a legal and most effectual remedy for parliamentary corruption, and without innovation ..... 51"

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present awful times, that can be truly effectual for the defence and continued prosperity of this kingdom; as it will raise an immense armed force stationed in every part of the island, both in towns, villages, and country, without the ruinous expense of military pay; being the true legal system of a local militia."

The *sacred authority* on which he rested in the case here stated, was drawn from the appointment by Moses (in the 18th chapter of Exodus) of "rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, and rulers of tens:" and he pleaded for the revival of our ancient constitutional form, as it was first instituted in England by *Alfred;* in consequence of which, he says, "that monarch maintained peace among his own subjects, and chastised robbers in such sort that he commanded golden bracelets to be hung up in the roads, divided into four ways, which might brave the avidity of passengers, while there was none who dared snatch them away *."

* "Licet inter arma leges sileant, ipse tamen Aluredus Rex inter fremitus armorum leges tulit, et centurias, quas *hundredas* dicunt, et decurias, quas *tithingas* vocant, instituit, pacem inter suos custodivit, et latrones in tantum castigavit, quod in semitis quæ per quadrivium finduntur, armillas aureas jussit suspendi, quæ viantium aviditatem arriderent, dum non essent, qui eas arriperent."—*Chronicon of John Brompton.*

According to Mr. Sharp's view of the subject, the community of Great Britain was divided into counties, parishes, hundreds, and tithings. The tithings consisted of ten adjoining householders: the ten adjoining tithings formed a hundred. In each

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On the basis of frank-pledge he raised his proposal for parliamentary reform, by the mode of suffrage derived from that institution; the character of "householders, or masters of families," as there defined, "happily including," he says, "all persons of "every rank and denomination that ought, in strict "justice and ancient prescription of constitutional "right, to elect and send their own Representatives "to Parliament, whether as knights, citizens, or bur-"gesses *."

How far such a proposition stands removed from the rude notion of *universal suffrage* (although he frequently uses that term in his writings, needs not be again remarked †. Mr. Sharp's *rule* of *obedience* has been too fully shown to need any farther vindication of his opinion on the subject; but if it were wanting, it would be found in the following remark,

of these divisions, a headman, elected by the members, was called a tithingman, and a hundreder. The latter were justiciaries, or preservers of the peace.

In the tithings, every householder was annually *pledged*, by the other nine, who became responsible for his conduct, and for any damage which he might occasion. These householders form the real constitutional body of *electors* at every calling of the Parliament. They are necessarily *freeholders*, or holders of tenements by burgage tenure (excluding all tenants at will), in order to entitle them to the ancient indisputable right of *free-borges*, or free-pledges, to send *burgesses* to Parliament.—*See the passages referred to by Mr. Sharp in the preceding note.*

* "Account of the ancient Division of the English Nation into Hundreds and Tithings," pp. 49 and 51.

† See note in vol. i. p. 290.

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written with his own hand on the back of a printed paper, entitled, a "Declaration of those Rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain without which they cannot be free,"—a paper said to have been written by Sir W. Jones, and proposing universal suffrage in its fullest sense.—

. . . . . .

Remark.—"The Author of this paper has not been aware that his proposal for a universal suffrage would be a most dangerous innovation and encroachment on the just rights of the English householders and responsible burgesses, and would deprive the state of their responsibility, in which consists the *summa et maxima securitas* of the English frank-pledge, the very foundation of the English Constitution, the *summa et maxima securitas* of the state and people, and the only true and effectual security to the Crown under a limited and legal Monarchy."

The variety of the subjects which he successively treated, is amply shown by his own Catalogue. There is nothing more pleasing in society, than to contemplate men of superior capacity applying their abilities to the ordinary purposes of life. The Investigator of the *Law of Nature* devoted a portion of his leisure to *improving the Child's First Book*, for mothers and teachers; and the Vindicator of England's universal gift of Freedom was seen with equal zeal instructing Foreigners in the rudiments of her language.

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Of his many miscellaneous writings, it might be tedious to enter on a minute examination. An account of several of the most important is given by himself in his Catalogue, and several others have been noticed in the course of these Memoirs. Suffice it, then, here to state of them, *without a single exception*, (by repeating Dr. Franklin's words in one of his letters to Mr. Sharp), they "ALWAYS HAVE SOME PUBLIC GOOD FOR THEIR OBJECT."

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CONCLUSION.

WHATEVER may have been the judgment formed by the reader, in perusing the narrative of Mr. Sharp's life, the writer of it would think himself unjust to the memory of this extraordinary man, if he did not frankly avow, that the diligent investigation of his character and actions (necessary to the performance) has produced a powerful, and, he hopes, a beneficial effect on his own mind. During a tedious research into confused and crowded documents, the increasing admiration of a virtuous character has continually compensated his labour, and has daily added to his conviction of the value of that religious goodness, of which the mere contemplation was able to sooth fatigue and pain, and in whose rule of action the best desires of the heart appear to find their contentment.

If the circumstances of Mr. Sharp's education be taken into view; if it be considered that he was removed from school before he had learned the rudiments of the dead languages; that he passed his early youth in apprenticeship to trade, and his manhood in the Ordnance Office; that he, by his own study, unassisted by regular instruction, became so accurately informed in the English Laws, as to be

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able to overset the decisions of an Attorney and Solicitor General, and even to alter the opinions of Lord Mansfield himself, then sitting in judgment; that he so deeply investigated the Greek language, as to be able to discover and correct errors in the translation of our New Testament, which had escaped many of the learned of this country for centuries; and that his corrections in those points were admitted and publicly approved by men of eminent critical knowledge; that he became so profound a critic in the Hebrew tongue, as to induce one of the most learned Hebraists of our age to propose that his Rules should be adopted in the grammar of our public schools; and, finally, that these several acquisitions were made without any desire of reputation for learning, but merely for the prosecution of purposes which he held sacred and necessary to the performance of his duty to God and his fellow-creatures;—if to these we join the consideration of the several important objects attained by his active endeavours in the cause of freedom and of religion (which have furnished the materials of these Memoirs);—if all these circumstances be weighed, it is difficult to regard him without sensations of reverential awe, not wholly dissimilar to the feelings with which we reflect on the illustrious characters recorded in the Scriptures, as the peculiar instruments of Heaven's high and holy purposes.

When to his arduous attainments and exertions are added the child-like mildness, simplicity, and

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humility of his character, and the unceasing benevolence of his disposition, he must be ranked among those who have most zealously revered the "example left to us" by our Divine Instructor, and who have most diligently "followed his steps."

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ADDITIONAL NOTES *to* VOL. II.

Page 81.

SIERRA LEONE.

SINCE the period of the preceding statements, the reports of every successive year have continued to show the advance of the colony, and the benefits derived from it to the general interests of humanity.

The Fourteenth Report of the African Institution, in May 1820, contains accounts of the increase of the population, commerce, and instruction, in the settlement; which accounts are confirmed by the official reports of the late Sir George Collier, and of the American Delegates, who were sent by Congress to explore the coast, and to fix on a proper site for settling a colony of a nature similar to Sierra Leone.

"More improvement," says Sir George Collier, "under all circumstances of climate and infancy of colony, is scarcely to be supposed. I visited all the Black towns and villages; attended the public schools, and other establishments; and I never witnessed, in any population, more contentment and happiness."

The following is among the letters of the American Delegates.

"Sierra Leone, Thursday, March 26, 1816.

"We visited the schools in Freetown. In the Male school were about two hundred neat, active, intelligent boys, divided into eight classes, under the superintendance of Mr. Horton, whose perseverance and fidelity are entitled to high commendation. We saw the writing of the boys, and heard them read and spell. In the Female school were about a hundred neatly

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dressed little girls, many of whom could read and sew. These schools would do no dishonour to an English or an American village. There was not a White child in either of them. I believe schools of White children seldom give fairer proofs of improvement.

"The number in all the schools of the colony, including some adults, does not fall much short of two thousand. This is almost one-sixth part of the whole population."

The Reports of the years 1821 and 1822 are equally favourable.

In the Spring Meeting of 1823, the annual colonial documents not having reached England, the Report of the Directors stated, in general terms only, the favourable condition of the colony; and added, from the Sixth Report of the American "Society for colonising the Free People of Colour in the United States," the following further particulars of Regent's Town:—

"Dr. Ayres visited the town about the beginning of the year 1822, and was agreeably surprised at the order and improvement which were manifested. He arrived in the evening: next morning, being Sunday, not a person was to be seen in the streets: a calmness reigned, he says, as solemn and profound as had done six years before, when nothing was heard in the wilderness but the softly-creeping tread of the leopard, when preparing to spring upon his prey. A few minutes before eight in the morning, the children of the school were arranged in a line, classed according to their mechanical occupations, each class dressed in a uniform proper to itself, with the master-workman at its head, who was responsible for the behaviour of his class. When the time arrived for morning prayer, this interesting group of 200 moved in order to their seats in the church.

"About 500 persons attended morning prayer. After they had retired from church in the order in which they entered, no more was seen of them, until the bell again rang for the evening service. At once, as if the whole village had been moved by a magic spring, a very large proportion of the population appeared in the street, cleanly and decently clad, with Bibles

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under their arms, moving toward the church. Besides these, Dr. Ayres likewise observed about a dozen young men, with Bibles, coming down from the mountain near the town. On inquiring who they were, he was informed, that they had been selected from the school, on account of their piety and superior attainments, and were preparing to return to their native land as missionaries, to declare the joyful tidings of their emancipation to their benighted countrymen, having already made considerable progress in the study of the native languages of Africa."

The Report made in the ensuing Spring contained the following notice.—

"The accounts received during the last year, of the state and progress of Sierra Leone, are very satisfactory. The trade of the colony appears to increase, particularly with the interior. The duties, collected on goods imported from Europe into the colony, had been more in the first three quarters of 1823 than in any preceding year; more, indeed than in the four years 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815; and, if the last quarter of 1823 was as productive as the three preceding quarters, the duties of 1823 would be double those of 1822. It is still more gratifying, however, to witness the rapidly growing intercourse of the colony with the interior, almost to the banks of the Niger. Caravans of native merchants bring their gold, ivory, and other articles, from Fouta Jallon, and places beyond it, which they barter in the colony for British merchandise; and merchants of Sierra Leone have occasionally received from 500*l*. to 1000*l*. worth of gold in a single day, in exchange for their goods.

"In other respects, also, the colony is clearly improving. Crime has diminished; cultivation has extended; substantial erections have been multiplied; churches have either been built, or are building, in every village; religious institutions have increased; the blessings of education have been more widely diffused; and the influence of Christianity appears to prevail more and more among the inhabitants."

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Page 169.

——"*an undertaking of such extraordinary magnitude.*"

I have dwelt the longer on the early circumstances of the colony, from having accidentally observed that the Conductors of the work called "Guthrie's Grammar" (a work of the most valuable description, from its general fulness of information) were for a period unapprized of the name of the first founder of the colony, and attributed its establishment to a "Company of Gentlemen,"—meaning, I conclude, the St. George's, or Sierra Leone, Company;—a statement which they were probably led to adopt from an expression in the final Report of the Sierra Leone Company, which seems to ascribe to their incorporated body the "*first conception*, and *attempt at execution*," of the benevolent plan of the settlement. The error was obviously unintentional. Mr. Sharp was himself a member of the Company at the time of the Report being made, and, consistently with his unaffected humility in all things, suffered it to pass unnoticed.

Page 211.

——"*treatment of the Negroes.*"

The Rev. James Ramsay, Vicar of Teston, in Kent, was the author of several publications in behalf of the Negro Slaves.

Page 220.

——"*father of the cause in England.*"

"*It is upon the pillars built by Mr. Sharp, and him only, that the superstructure was raised.* Without them we should have been building on sand. His venerable name added a sanction to the Committee. But, beside this, there were extraordinary features in his character,—his piety, his charity, and, if you go back to the Slave Trade, his foundation of the colony at Sierra Leone. As a member of the Committee, his

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biographer will not find any extraordinary activity; but, *let him dwell upon his extraordinary services before the Committee was established*, and then join him and the Committee together in one common fame."—*Letter from Mr. Clarkson to the late T. Harrison, Esq.*

Page 254.

(Memorandum on Slavery.)

The reader will recollect the warmth with which Mr. Sharp expressed his sentiments to the Committee of the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade; accusing all present as *guilty before God*, for not including *the Abolition of Slavery* in the sphere of their proposed exertions. (p. 234.)

In those decided sentiments I find a solution of the singularity of his conduct, as Chairman of the same Committee, in perseveringly *refusing to take the chair*;—a circumstance which his friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Clarkson, attributed to a strong sense of humility, see p. 231, and which I have there partly accounted for on similar grounds. In reflecting further on the subject, I am persuaded that his abstaining from taking his seat, where he was so often pressed in vain, arose from an equally conscientious feeling of his duty, not to give the sanction of his *entire approbation* to an undertaking which fell short of his own conception, and which he considered inferior to the real demands of humanity.

In the expression of these sentiments he was uniformly consistent and zealous. Although nothing can strengthen his own declarations on the subject of slavery, I shall add a short communication, which I have received from a professional friend, who was occasionally connected with him in legal concerns.—

"Availing myself of these opportunities, I frequently induced Mr. Sharp to digress from the immediate object of his visit to my chambers, by leading the conversation to the important political topics of the day,—the Slave Trade, the Roman Catholic Question, and the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. With respect to the Slave Trade, he disclaimed all regulation or registration: he knew, and predicted, that the

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supposed Abolition would be fraught with all the evils that have been experienced since his death,—the contraband traffic in slaves, and the continued ill-treatment of them by their tyrants; which have kept up the measure of human misery.

"*The Abolition of Slavery* he strenuously contended for, as the sole remedy for the grievance, and as the best evidence of our being influenced by the pure spirit of Christianity, which formed the sole guide of all his actions."

Page 315 (note at the end).

——"*seemed to occupy his mind to the latest moment.*"

Although we cannot read the inward thoughts of men, yet, if we compare these complacent expressions of personal affection, with the persuasion of his mind, before noticed, concerning his own uninterrupted transition from our mortal state of being to a higher and happier state, we shall be led to consider him, in the moments here described, as recalling with delight those whose society he felt the most lively assurance of speedily rejoining.

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APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

BAMBURGH CASTLE.—(*see* vol. i. pp. 27, 28.)

A few Particulars of that Establishment, not inserted in the Memoirs—extracted from "An Account of the Uses to which the old Roman Tower in Bamburgh Castle has been appropriated."

SCHOOLS.—Sixty children of each sex are admitted on the charity. All children are received (till the number is complete) whose parents do not farm above 10*l.* per annum, or who have not a certain income to that amount. The *boys* are taught Latin and English, writing, arithmetic, navigation, and other branches of the mathematics. The *girls* are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, plain and fine work, and knitting.

GRANARIES—supplied with corn and meal, to be retailed to the poor at a fixed price, (be the market price ever so high). No poor persons, from whatever distance, are excluded from the benefit of the sale.

REPOSITORIES.—1. For scales, weights, measures, compass, and other instruments for surveying. 2. For receipts and writings, and for such deeds and writings as may be deposited there by private persons, as in a place of security against fire and other accidents; also,

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for standard brass weights and liquor measures, for the regulation of shops and public-houses.

A large LIBRARY, for the use of the neighbouring clergy and others.

MILLS, for malt, wheat and barley, and pease;
MANGLE;
STEELYARDS, large and small;
SCALES and WEIGHTS, ditto;
BORE RODS, with chisels, scoops, &c.
} for public use.

TRIANGLE, for weighing hay, which is sold cheap to the poor.

CORK JACKETS, for the use of those who put off in boats to the assistance of ships in distress.

GRAPPLES, BOAT-HOOKS, SEA-TONGS.

FLAGS FOR SIGNALS.

A DAY-WATCH, kept during eight months of the year.

COMPLETE CHIRURGICAL APPARATUS AND INSTRUMENTS, for the use of the neighbourhood in cases of accidents.

LABORATORY, with furnace, retort, receiver, &c.

APPARATUS—for making artificial water.
—for the recovery of drowned persons.
—electrical.

MORTARS, &c. for medical purposes. The *Ormskirk* and other useful medicines.

PRINTED ACCOUNTS of the signals, stores, and provisions for seamen, ships, and vessels in distress.

December, 1771.

N. B. All expenses of every kind about the castle, that do not come under the denomination of charity, are defrayed by Dr. J. Sharp.

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No. II.

HYLAS.—(*see* note in p. 73, vol. i.)

Remarks on the Case of John Hylas and his Wife Mary.

THE freedom of John Hylas is indisputable, even though it should be admitted that the villenage doctrines are still law, and that the West-India slavery is justly entitled to succeed it, and to be established on that obsolete foundation.

Hylas lived more than a year and a day in a free state, without being claimed; by which circumstance alone he is certainly enfranchised, though there are several other circumstances, which, separately, would have been amply sufficient for that purpose. The effect of these circumstances is proved and confirmed by the subsequent proceedings of the master, who lately ***pleaded by his counsel*** to Hylas's action in a Court of Record, ***without demanding him as his property.***

Hylas, therefore, being free, his wife must necessarily be allowed to be free also; for that his wife and he be one person. "Vir et uxor sunt quasi unica persona, quia caro una, et sanguis unus.—*Bracton*, lib. v. p. 416, *in the Law.*" (*Lit.* lib. ii. p. 112.)

Sir John Fortescue, in the 42d chapter of his book De Laudibus Legum, quotes our Lord's words in the Gospel to this purpose—"***Jam non sunt duo, sed una caro.***" Upon which he thus reasons: "Et cum masculinum concipiat fœminimum, ad masculinum quod dignius est, referri debet tota caro sic facta una," &c.

So that it is most certainly true, that the woman follows the condition of the husband; and if ***he*** be free, so must ***she*** likewise.

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It must therefore appear, that Mr. Newton has forcibly carried away and transported, contrary to the laws of God and man, a free woman, the wife of a free man, at a time when she was resiant in this kingdom, and consequently a subject. He is, therefore, certainly liable to all the penalties of the Habeas Corpus Act against such flagrant offences; and if the courts of law do not adjudge those penalties against him, I know not how they can be excused from the charge of doing a manifest injustice to Hylas, who is as much entitled to 500*l.* damages, at the least, besides treble costs, by this Act of Parliament, as the first lawyer of the kingdom would be, if he should lose his wife in the same manner.

On the other hand, perhaps, it may be said, that Mr. Newton is entitled at least to the value of his former slave, and may sue the husband for the same, according to the doctrine of Sir John Fortescue in a similar case, when a free man married a Neif (Naif) or Native: "Recuperabit versus liberum illum (says he) omne damnum quod ipse sustinuit ratione deperditi servitii et amissæ ancillæ." But even if it should be admitted that this is law at present, yet Mr. Newton should consider that the utmost damages which can reasonably be allowed him for the loss of his female slave will not exceed 30*l.* which is very inconsiderable when compared with the damages due from himself to Hylas, according to the Habeas Corpus Act.

But it may also be said, perhaps, that Hylas cannot prosecute upon this Act, because it is near three years ago since the offence of transporting his wife was committed; whereas the prosecution, according to the Act, must be within two years. Nevertheless, it must be remembered, that the offence against the Act continues as long as the wife is retained in slavery; and the husband, therefore, may with propriety bring his action, according to the said Act, even seven years hence, or as long after that time as his wife should remain under that unlawful confinement beyond the seas;—provided that it was not in

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his power, for want of money or friends, to demand her sooner; or for any other reasonable cause, as that he durst not, for fear of the master, lest he himself should likewise be trepanned and transported.

But the present opinion and inclination of our courts, it seems, with respect to the Habeas Corpus Act, and the West-India slavery, is supposed to be very different from what I have here laid down; yet I have never been able to trace out *a sufficient* reason for this, neither have I ever met with any person that could.

This supposed opinion, therefore, is rather to be esteemed a general prejudice, than a proper authority, and so ought not to avail in the least, unless reason (I mean *legal reason, warranted by authority of law*) prevail also.

It was on account of this *supposed* opinion, I presume, that Hylas's counsel thought themselves obliged to bring the action for damages alone, which, it seems, ought to have been principally for the recovery of the wife. So that this same supposed opinion has occasioned a manifest injury to Hylas, which, in the end, must appear very unworthy of the courts.

The poor man, indeed, was asked in court, whether he would have his wife, or damages? He replied, he desired to have his wife.

But why this cruel alternative? If he had a right to his wife, which cannot be denied, he most certainly had a right to damages also, in consideration of the violent and unpardonable outrage committed against *himself* in the *person* of his wife, for which no pecuniary allowance whatsoever can really make him amends: at least I should think so, were the case my own.

It was nevertheless insinuated in court, that Hylas had not much regard for his wife; that he rather wished for damages than to recover the person (though the event proved otherwise); and, therefore, that the damages should be proportioned to the loss which might appear to be sustained.

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But this is a new doctrine, as repugnant to the laws of God as to the common law of this kingdom: for, according to both these, a man and his wife are considered as *one*—that is, one flesh, which I have already shewn.

Now they either are one flesh, or they are not so.; for no third person whatsoever has any right to define a medium, either with respect to their conjugal relationship or their mutual affection. The laws must ever suppose that both these are entire, especially when sufficient proofs of a lawful marriage are not wanting, and the parties themselves do not sue for a separation.

It is therefore very plain and clear, that Hylas, as a husband, has a right to his wife by the laws of God and man; and, as a subject of England, has a right likewise to very considerable damages, as well by the Habeas Corpus Act as by the common law and common justice.

Nevertheless, before the cause was opened, nay even during the time that the clerk was tendering the oath to the jury, Sir Fletcher Norton came into court, and acquainted the judge, that now the great important question concerning the rights of retaining slaves in England was likely to come before his lordship; signifying, at the same time, that it is a point of great difficulty, and that a judicial determination is much to be wished for, or to that purpose, &c.

Sir Fletcher likewise observed afterward, that there are now in town upward of 20,000 Negroes. I could have told him, that there would soon be 20,000 more, if the important and difficult point, as he calls it, were to be determined on his side of the question: whereas, if it was clearly proved, on the other hand, that Negroes become free on their landing in England, it is very certain that their West-Indian masters, who are so tenacious of this kind of property, would for the most part be prevented thereby from bringing them.

Now it may safely be allowed, that the cause which Sir Fletcher espoused—viz. the right, or rather wrong,

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which the West-Indian claims as his prerogative, forcibly to transport a person out of this kingdom — *is a point of great difficulty*. It is so difficult, indeed, that it cannot possibly be admitted, until some valuable statutes are annulled by proper authority, and until the common law and custom of this realm is totally changed; which time I hope we shall never see.

The slave-holders' counsel must first of all convince the whole Legislature, King, Lords, and Commons, that some singular benefit will arise to the community, if they will condescend to give a sanction to such flagrant breaches of the peace as that particular transaction which was then before the court.

But it will be still more difficult for the slave-holders' counsel to find just argument for this purpose, though one of them could burst into *a loud contemptuous laughter* at the very mention of damages for such an outrage.

How far *this kind of eloquence*, in which that gentleman seemed so happily to excel, might influence or prejudice the judgment of his hearers, I know not; but sure I am, that such a method has no more connection with sound and just *reasoning* than it has with good manners.

But to return to the important question—One of the slave-holders' counsel wished that it might now be determined.

He could not mean, I think, that he wished it to be determined in favour of the oppressed, because that is sufficiently determined already, as well by the common law and custom of England, which is always favourable to liberty and the freedom of a man from imprisonment, as by the 12th section of the Habeas Corpus Act, which expressly determines the point, that *no subject* of this realm, that now is, or hereafter shall be, an inhabitant of this kingdom of England, dominions of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed, shall be sent prisoner into Scotland, &c., or into ports, garrisons, *islands*, or places beyond the seas; and that every such imprisonment is hereby enacted

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and adjudged to be illegal, &c. So that really there is not any difficulty at all in the question, notwithstanding that I have heard some very grave and learned lawyers affirm the contrary, to my great astonishment and mortification.

But none of those gentlemen I speak of have as yet made it appear that there is any thing so commendable, or worthy of imitation, in the West-India slavery, that it deserves to be admitted also into this kingdom.

And therefore I hope they will no longer persist in defending so bad a cause, lest they should bring upon themselves also the charge of inhumanity, according to the maxim of the great Chancellor Fortescue, "Impius et crudelis judicandus est qui libertati non favet."

No. III.

ADDRESS OF THE WARD OF LIME STREET.

(*see* vol. i. p. 96.)

To the Right Honourable Brass Crosby, Esq., Lord Mayor of the City of London.

MY LORD,

The Inquest and Inhabitants of the ward of Lime Street, truly sensible of your Lordship's earnest endeavours to support and maintain the laws of this kingdom and the rights of the citizens of London, beg leave to testify our approbation of your Lordship's conduct in this alarming situation of affairs.—[This paragraph was added by the Ward.]

A due limitation of power by just and equitable laws, is surely the best foundation of happiness for all nations;

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and the English Nation, in particular, hath ever esteemed this point essential.

We are taught to believe, even by a positive law (13th Charles II. cap. i.), "That there is no legislature, in either or both Houses of Parliament, without the King;" and therefore we cannot conceive that a command, or mere resolution, of any one of these branches, should oblige us to dispense with reasonable and beneficial laws confirmed by all the three, when even their united authority cannot enact any thing contrary to the principles of law and reason.

No law, for instance, can be made to dispense with perjury or theft, or to confirm or pardon an encroachment or "nuisance in the highway, which still continues, and is not ended until removed,"* nor to "confirm a trespass or unlawful entry upon a man's house or land,"* or to "make a man judge in his own case,"* or indeed to establish any other *mala per se*, which are prohibited by the common law.

We also beg leave to observe, that the obligation of magistrates to render strict justice, according to their oaths of office, is so deeply founded in the laws of religion and reason, that to dispense therewith would be as much a *malum in se* as any thing that we have mentioned; and, consequently, a command or injunction for that purpose, even THOUGH IT WAS ENFORCED BY THE SUPREME AUTHORITY OF THE WHOLE LEGISLATURE, would (as in any of the other cases) be null and void in itself; "For a law which a man cannot obey, or act according to it, is void and no law; and it is impossible to obey contradictions, or act according to them."* (Vaughan's Rep. 339.)

It is with great concern we see your Lordship refused in solemn judgment the benefit of THE HABEAS CORPUS ACT, the right of every Englishman, under pretence that

* Copious notes on the several passages marked with an * are among Mr. Sharp's papers.

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one court of judicature cannot interfere with the privileges of another court, in cases of contempt.

Contempts, my Lord, were formerly confined to offences committed within the courts;* and vain will be our boast of liberty, if contempts of court be suffered to extend beyond those limits.

There is nothing, however, which we shall be able to say concerning law, that your Lordship is not already sufficiently acquainted with; but we shall, nevertheless, beg leave to observe, "That the law of the land is the highest inheritance that the King hath; for by it himself and all his subjects are ruled: and if there was no law, there would be no king nor inheritance." (19th Hen. VI. cap 63.)*

Every infringement, therefore, of law, especially when extended to the unlawful imprisonment, not merely of his Majesty's subjects, but even of his Majesty's legal ministers and magistrates, is a manifest injury to our most gracious Sovereign, for whom we entertain the most unfeigned respect and affection.

We are thoroughly persuaded also, that your Lordship is no less sincerely attached to his Majesty's sacred person, family, and true interest, than ourselves: but loyalty includes many other duties besides those which are owing to the Sovereign; for the latter constitute only a part (though indeed an essential part) of loyalty; whereas an exact and conscientious observation of the laws is absolutely necessary to establish a character of true loyalty, even in the strictest sense of the word.

It is TRUE LOYALTY, therefore, that hath hitherto distinguished your Lordship's conduct in your present high office, and which, at this time, deservedly demands our sincerest acknowledgments.

We are, my Lord, &c.

* See preceding note.

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No. IV.—(see note in p. 141, vol. i.)

ON THE OPINIONS OF MR. HUME, MR. ESTWICK, AND MR. LONG, CONCERNING THE SUPPOSED NATURAL INFERIORITY OF NEGROES.

Marginal Remark of G. S. on page 33 of "An History of Jamaica and Barbadoes, published" (as it was said, by Mr. Estwick) "for the Benefit of the West-Indian Sufferers, with a Sermon on that Occasion."

MR. ESTWICK, the reputed editor of this book, and Agent for the island of Barbadoes, made a serious attempt, in his second edition of "Considerations on the Negro Cause," &c. (1773), to prove that Negroes are *a different species* of men, and want the "*moral sense*" (see p. 75), which Dr. Hutchinson had declared to be peculiar to human "nature," "essentially to distinguish man from beasts." And after citing and adopting the infidel Hume's idea about "several species of men" (which is a gross attack on Revelation) he adds in a note—"Although a Negro is found, in Jamaica or elsewhere, ever so sensible and acute, yet if he is incapable of *moral sensations*, or perceives them only as *simple ideas*, without the power of combination in order to use, (which I verily believe," says he, "to be the case), it is a mark that distinguishes him from the man who feels and is capable of these *moral sensations*, who knows their application and the purposes of them, as sufficiently as he himself is distinguished *from the highest species of brutes*. All this Atheistical doctrine from Hume about "different species of men," and Mr. Estwick's notions that the Negroes are "incapable of moral sensations, and perceive them only as simple ideas," &c., are indiscriminately adopted by the author of an History of Jamaica (in three vols. 4to. 1774, said to be

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written by Mr. Long), who has added many other strange conceits and inconsistent remarks of his own, for the same uncharitable purpose of degrading the Negroes below the dignity of *men*, in order to vindicate the inhuman pretensions of the West-Indian slave-holder, to treat them like *brutes!* See vol. iii. p. 477. See also p. 376, where he says, "We cannot pronounce them unsusceptible of civilization, since even *apes* have been taught to eat, drink, repose, and dress like men; but, of all the human species hitherto discovered, their natural baseness of mind seems to afford least hope of their being (except by miraculous interposition of Divine Providence) so far refined as to *think as well as act like men.*" But the partiality on this point, of the writer himself, is so lamentably predominant, that he seems (according to Mr. Estwick's description of the Negroes), to be "without the *power of combination in order to use*"—"a mark which distinguishes him (says Mr. Estwick) from the man who feels," &c.;—so that he has been incapable of discerning that slave-holders on this subject neither "think nor act like men;" and that there is "no baseness of mind" so despicably inhuman and immoral, as that which prompts a man to become an advocate for slavery in any of its branches! In page 360 he extols the docility of the *Orang Outang*, in order, by comparison, to depreciate that of the *Negro;* and says, "I do not think that an *Orang Outang husband* would be *any dishonour to an Hottentot female!*" &c. "Has the Hottentot" (says he) "from this portrait, a more *manly* figure than the Orang Outang? I suspect that he owes, like the Orang Outang, the celerity of his speed to the particular conformation of his foot," &c. And in order to inculcate this idea of a "different species of men," he says, speaking of the Mulattoes, in p. 335, "Some of them have intermarried here with those of their own complexion; but such matches have generally been defective and barren. They seem, in this respect, to be actually of the *mule kind*, and not so capable of producing from one

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another as from a commerce with a distinct White or Black." But this advocate for slavery would not have said, that "such matches have *generally* been defective," if he could have said that they are *always* defective, like mules; so that the defect is only in his own argument, as mules and mulattoes are utterly dissimilar in the very point on which he has founded the comparison: for if some such marriages have increase, it is manifest that there is nothing in the connection contrary to the order of nature, such as that which prohibits the increase of mules by mules.

But what shall we think of the inferiority of the Negroes, when we read what this author allows concerning the propensity of the White men to "cohabit with Negresses and Mulattoes, free or slaves," since *not one in "twenty* can be persuaded" (says he) "that there is either sin or shame in cohabiting with his slave," &c. p. 327. And in p. 330, speaking of the "public and avowed keeping of Negro or Mulatto mistresses," he says, "Habit, however, and the prevailing fashion, reconcile such scenes." What must we think, I say, therefore, of the pretended inferiority of the Negroes, if their women have such notorious influence over their White masters? We must either conclude that this author has been guilty of gross and wicked misrepresentation in comparing them with apes and orang outangs, or else that almost all the White inhabitants of our Islands ("not one in twenty" being excepted by him) are guilty of *gross and abominable bestiality*! Let the refined author show his "moral sensations" and superiority of discernment to that of the Negroes in choosing which side of this dilemma suits him best! In short, all that he, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Estwick, have presumed on this supposed natural inferiority of the Negroes, is utterly indiscriminate, and without foundation. The evidence against these slanderers of human nature is notorious and unquestionable, and clearly vindicates the much-injured Negroes. The Scriptures declare that God "hath made of *one blood all nations of men*" for to dwell

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on *all* the face of the earth," &c.; and Moses has circumstantially declared the parentage of *all* those nations from our common parent Noah: and besides, the descendants of Ham, by the clear evidence of holy Scripture, have in different periods attained the *highest pitch of human grandeur and importance*, as nations of men, in all the arts of war and peace: as the princely states of Tyre and Phœnicia; the ancient and powerful kingdom of Egypt; nay, the first kingdom among men, the Babylonian monarchy, founded by Nimrod the son of Cush, *a Negro*, as were all his descendants the Cushites; the ruling tribe in the kingdoms of Saba and Sheba, Numidia, Abyssinia, Mauritania, &c. &c. extending even into Europe, as well as to the furthermost bounds of India: so that all the arguments to the contrary, asserted by Mr. Hume, Mr. Long, and Mr. Estwick, are *totally false*, and in that respect are *truly despicable*. But when we consider that the purpose and intention of such arguments was to deprive *a very great part of mankind* of the common rights and dignity of *human nature*, in order to justify the *enslaving* and treating them as *brute beasts*, it must be allowed that there never were greater instances of "*brutality*," or more manifest tokens of a want of "*moral sensations*," than what those writers themselves have shown us in their own wicked attempts against the Negroes! How shall we distinguish such writers "from the *highest species of brutes?*" By their shape? by their speech? or in their "perception by *simple ideas?*" Yet surely not by their "*moral sensations!*" for in that respect their humanity is plainly deficient.

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No. V.

VIRGINIAN PETITION.—(*see* vol. i. p. 155.)

Extracts from the Minutes of the House of Burgesses in Virginia, Wednesday, April 1, 1772.

Most gracious Sovereign,

We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Burgesses of Virginia, now met in General Assembly, beg leave with all humility to approach your Royal Presence.

The many instances of your Majesty's benevolent intentions and most gracious disposition to promote the prosperity and happiness of your subjects in the colonies, encourage us to look up to the Throne, and implore your Majesty's paternal assistance in averting a calamity of a most alarming nature.

The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of *great inhumanity;* and under its encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will *endanger the very existence of your Majesty's American dominions.*

We are sensible that some of your Majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emolument from this sort of traffic; but when we consider that it *greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more White inhabitants,* and may in time *have the most destructive influence,* we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to remove all those restraints on your Majesty's Governors of this colony which inhibit their

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assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce.

Your Majesty's ancient colony and dominion of Virginia hath, at all times, and upon every occasion, been entirely devoted to your Majesty's sacred person and government; and we cannot forego this opportunity of renewing those assurances of the truest loyalty and warmest affection, which we have so often, with the greatest sincerity, given to the best of Kings, whose wisdom and goodness we esteem the surest pledge of the happiness of all his people.

Resolved, nemine contradicente, That the House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to his Majesty.

Resolved, That an Address be presented to his Excellency the Governor, to desire that he will be pleased to transmit the Address to his Majesty, and to support it in such manner as he shall think most likely to promote the desirable end proposed.

No. VI.

(*see* note in vol. i. pp. 207-8.)

REMARKS ON MR. G. SHARP'S "SHORT INTRODUCTION TO VOCAL MUSIC,"

BY WILLIAM SHIELD, ESQ. MASTER OF HIS MAJESTY'S BAND OF MUSICIANS.

To Prince Hoare, Esq.

My dear Sir, "Berner's Street, ——, 1816.

As you are pleased to remind me of a promise I made to you, I sit down, in compliance with your request, to write the sentiments which I delivered verbally at our last interview.

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Before I proceed to the examination of the "Short Introduction to Vocal Music, by the late Mr. Granville Sharp," according to your friendly desire I shall state the few facts which you thought might prove interesting, particularly as they are connected with a family whose virtues were an honour to human nature, and whose memory is revered by all survivors who had the happiness to witness them.

The late Archdeacon of Northumberland, Dr. Sharp, held residence in Durham at an early period of my life, and honoured me with an invitation to his weekly performances of sacred music, to which he was so partial, that, notwithstanding he had a voluminous collection of Handel's scores, he commissioned me to subscribe for Dr. Arnold's edition of his favourite author, and to forward each number to his library immediately after publication. This worthy Dignitary of our Church also desired me to be the bearer of a letter to his brother, William Sharp, the late eminent surgeon, which proved a passport to his excellent concerts in the Old Jewry, where, at the first performance of the season in 1780, I had the honour of being an auditor (only), which afforded me the gratification of appreciating the beauties of Haydn's best quartetto in his Ninth Opera, as they were most charmingly expressed by La Motte, Dance, Blake, and Crosdill. But at each succeeding concert I experienced the advantageous pleasure of accompanying all the instrumental performers of the first class then residing in London.

This fortunate situation gained me the encouragement of Mr. James Sharp, the merchant, who astonished me by playing the violoncello part of trios upon a serpent; and Mr. Granville Sharp, who performed duets upon two flutes, to the delight and conviction of many doubters, who had conceived such an accomplishment to have been impracticable.

It used to be the frequent practice of the latter to walk from Fulham to St. Paul's Church, and to join in the

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chanting part of the Cathedral Service. This pleasing duty of a Christian qualified him to write those judicious observations which he published in his charitable tract, with the laudable intention of shortening the labour of attaining the desideratum, "singing at sight,"—an acquirement which added to his own earthly happiness, and prepared him to bear hereafter a choral part in the service of God.

The most material remarks I have to make upon the particular parts of the Introduction, I shall communicate to you in order as the passages will occur in the course of the examination. The first that offers itself is in Rule VIII. p. 13.

"The easiest method of hitting the distances is practised by those who play on the French-horn, or trumpet; for, as the tones from those instruments are not formed by the fingering, like others, but only by the lips and breath, so the idea of passing from note to note must be much the same as in singing. They commonly sound the key-note of their instrument, and its third, fifth, and octave, backwards and forwards, in tuning, before they begin to play any piece, and strictly observe on what lines or spaces those notes (the third, fifth, and eighth) should be placed, according to the cliff they play in; for, as they must keep the sound of their key-note in idea, so they readily from thence sound the third, fifth, and octave, having used their ear to those distances, which, like steps, convey the performer to all other notes of the musical scale. Before the young practitioner studies the following examples, he must accustom himself (by ear only, and without notes) to sound, first the sharp third and the fifth and eighth, and then the flat third and the fifth and eighth, to any given note; which any person, who has the least knowledge of music, can teach him, by first sounding them for him to imitate. Let him likewise be used to sound the fifth and octave to any

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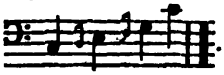
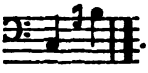
given note, missing the third, as . and to strike octaves with the intermediate notes, as . And if he finds it difficult to hit a third, let him suppose a note between the given note and the third, as  . To find the tone of a seventh, let him suppose the octave before it . To hit a sixth, let him suppose the fifth first, as  . And to find the fourth above the key, let him touch softly first upon the fifth, as . With some practice in this method, a person who has a good ear for music may acquire so clear an idea of the distances, that he will be enabled to sing tolerably at sight, without those last mentioned assistances."

Having lately made extraordinary exertions to obtain (either by loan or purchase) every book which professes to teach the art of singing at sight, I shall be much surprised if the reader of the above quotation has met with this method of hitting distances in any other published Preceptor, but Mr. Sharp's. The monosyllables Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, taken from a Latin Hymn used in honour of St. John the Baptist, have long been the young singer's elementary guides to distances in every country; and have enabled many practitioners (according to the musician's objectionable phrase) to arrive at a perfect intonation by hitting difficult intervals correctly.

Dr. Pepusch preferred Guido's Hexachord for Solmization or Sol-fa-ing. Rousseau condemned the old English method, which retrenched the Ut and Re from

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it. The greater part of treatises, and instructors, recommend Le Maire's addition of Si to it. But Mr. Sharp, like many others, looked upon all these methods as perplexing and unnecessary impediments in the shortest and easiest road to the end he had in view. He recommends all his exercises to be sung with the monosyllable La; which is not exactly the short practice of the modern Italians, for they drop the liquid L, and only use the open vowel A. But in their conservatorios the elaborate Solfeggio, with modulations and mutations, is severely taught: they also substitute Do for Ut.

Mr. Sharp's scales showing the different octaves of the three cliffs—where the semitones occur in what he terms the flat and sharp keys—his measurement of distances and time—are nearly the same as those taught and exemplified by the best didactic authors and masters. But, in justice to Mr. Sharp, it will be readily acknowledged, that, although he was blest with learning, he has condescended to explain them with language more intelligible to common readers; and I doubt not that the "Short Introduction to Vocal Music, by Granville Sharp," has been, and will be, found to answer the purposes of instruction; which is all that was aimed at, as will be evident by this paragraph cited out of his modest preface:—

"The author, however, that he may not seem to make much ado about nothing, begs leave to assure his readers, that, insignificant as his method of hitting distances may appear to some, it has nevertheless been practised by several persons with great success. He therefore flatters himself, that the young persons for whose use the following rules were drawn up, will not esteem them unworthy their consideration, especially when they shall find that this method of learning music requires very little time in comparison of the old method of Sol-fa-ing."

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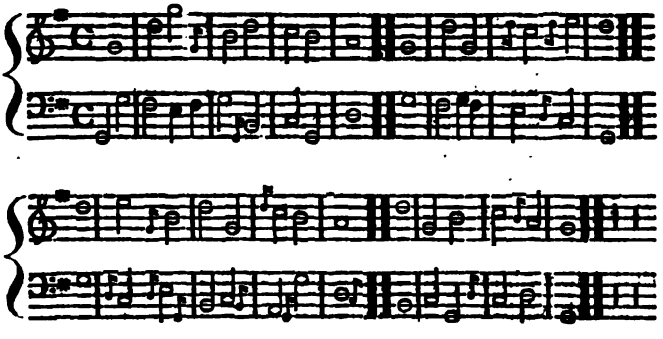
As his observations on choir music (p. 29) may be read with advantage by inarticulate singers, I shall here transcribe them.

"The next material thing to be considered in vocal music, is the speaking of the words distinct and plain, with suitable expression; which alone, and not the singing quick (a false notion, which too much prevails in choir music), can add spirit to the performance; but this, if the student's own genius does not direct him, must be taught by a good master, as it cannot so easily be explained in writing.

"To conclude, I must advise the learner to choose the easiest and slowest compositions to begin his practice with, such as common Psalm tunes, and other slow movements. A farther and complete understanding of vocal music can only be acquired by being long conversant in the science.

"Some examples for practice are subjoined, wherein the supposed notes* are inserted, agreeable to the directions in p. 15.



Having now finished my remarks upon the Introduction, with as much accuracy, I hope, as was requisite, I shall

* "The supposed notes are distinguished from the appoggiaturas, by being marked as semiquavers; and the learner must endeavour to be swift and transient in the use of them."

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beg leave to conclude with an apposite anecdote, which escaped me in its proper place.

A magnificent barge, in which the three harmonious brothers, their relatives and friends, occasionally made extensive excursions on the Thames, attracted universal admiration. The ears of listening auditors on the crowded banks were gratified, not with common water-music, but with the more mellifluous tones of stringed instruments, produced by the expressive fingers of professors so highly excellent that I cannot withhold from you an alphabetical arrangement of their names:

Abel,	Cramer,	Park,
Bach,	Crosdill,	Paxton,
Barthelemon,	Giardini,	Simpson,
Borghi,	Hay,	Vincent.
Cervetto,	La Motte,	

The vocal efforts were equally delightful, as you will readily conceive while you are reading the following list of such distinguished performers:

Harrison,	Osman,
Harrop,	Reinhold;
Linley (Mrs. Sheridan),	

who were alternately accompanied by a Bates, a Burney, a Cooke, a Parsons, or a Wesley.

This well-constructed vessel attracted the notice of their Majesties, and afforded accommodation suitable to the dignity of royalty.

My dear Sir,—I value your regard for truth so highly, that I have been particularly careful not to risk the loss of your friendship by the admission of a falsehood into the above remarks: for it ever has been, and ever shall be, the wish of my heart to remain

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM SHIELD.

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No. VII.

SPANISH REGULATIONS FOR THE GRADUAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF SLAVES.—(*see* vol. i. p. 282.)

MS.—'The Regulations lately adopted by the Spaniards 'at the Havannah and some other places for enfranchising 'slaves, are to the following effect:

'As soon as a slave is landed, his *name, price,* &c. are 'registered in a public register; and the master is obliged, 'by law, to allow him *one working day* in every week to 'himself, *besides Sundays:* so that if the slave chooses to 'work for his master on that day, he receives the wages of 'a freeman; and whatever he gains by his labour on that 'day is so secured to him by law, that the master cannot 'deprive him of it. This is certainly a considerable step 'towards the abolishing *absolute slavery.* As soon as the 'slave is able to purchase *another working day,* the 'master is obliged to sell it to him at a proportionable price '—viz. one fifth part of his original cost;—and so likewise the remaining four days at the same rate, as soon 'as the slave is able to redeem them: after which *he is* '*absolutely free.* This is such encouragement to industry, that even the most indolent are tempted to exert 'themselves. Men who have thus worked out their freedom, are inured to the labour of the country, and are 'certainly the most useful subjects that a colony can 'acquire. Regulations might be formed upon the same 'plan, to encourage the industry of slaves *that are already* '*imported into the colonies,* which would teach them how 'to maintain themselves, and be as useful, as well as less 'expensive, to the planter. They would by such means 'become members of society, and have an interest in 'the welfare of the community, which would add greatly 'to the strength and security of each colony; whereas, at 'present, the planters are in *continual danger of being* '*cut off* by their slaves.'

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No. VIII.

SHIP ZONG.—(*see* vol. i. p. 363.)

An Account of the Murder of One Hundred and Thirty-two Negro Slaves on Board the Ship Zong, or Zung, with some Remarks on the Arguments of an eminent Lawyer in Defence of that inhuman Transaction, enclosed in the Letter of the 2d July, 1783, to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty *.

THE ship Zong, or Zung, Luke Collingwood master, sailed from the island of St. Thomas, on the coast of Africa, the 6th September, 1781, with four hundred and forty slaves (or four hundred and forty-two) and seventeen Whites on board, for Jamaica; and on the 27th November following she fell in with that island; but, instead of proceeding to some port, the master, either through ignorance or a sinister intention, ran the ship to leeward, alleging that he mistook Jamaica for Hispaniola.

Sickness and mortality had by this time taken place, which is almost constantly the case on board slave-ships, through the avarice of these most detestable traders, which induces them to crowd, or rather to *pack*, too many slaves together in the holds of their ships; so that on board the Zong, between the time of her leaving the coast of Africa and the 29th November 1781, sixty slaves and upwards, and seven White people, died; and a great number of the remaining slaves, on the day last mentioned, were sick of some disorder or disorders, and likely to die, or not live long.

These circumstances of sickness and mortality are necessary to be remarked, and also the consequence of them

* This account was accompanied with various *vouchers*, to which all the passages marked with inverted commas are referred.

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—viz. that the dead and dying slaves would have been a dead loss to the owners, and, in some proportion, a loss also to the persons employed by the owners, unless some pretence or expedient had been found to throw the loss upon the insurers, as in the case of Jetsam, or Jetson—*i. e.* a plea of necessity to cast overboard some part of a cargo to save the rest. These circumstances, I say, are necessary to be remarked, because they point out the most probable inducement to this enormous wickedness.

The sickness and mortality on board the Zong, previous to the 29th November 1781 (the time when they began to throw the poor Negroes overboard alive), was NOT occasioned by the want of water; for it was proved that they did not discover till that very day, the 29th November (or the preceding day), that the stock of fresh water was reduced to two hundred gallons: yet the same day, or in the evening of it, "*before any soul had been* "*put to short allowance,*" and before there was any present or *real* want of water, "the master of the ship called "together a few of the officers, and told them to the follow- "ing effect:—that, if the slaves died a natural death, it "would be the loss of the owners of the ship; but if they "were *thrown alive into the sea, it would be the loss of the* "*underwriters:*" and, to palliate the inhuman proposal, he, the said Collingwood, pretended, that "it would not be so "cruel to throw the *poor sick wretches* [meaning such slaves] "into the sea, as to suffer them to linger out a few days "under the disorders with which they were afflicted,—or "expressed himself to the like effect." To which proposal the mate (whose name is Colonel James Kelsal) objected, it seems, at the first, and said "there was no present want "of water to justify such a measure." But "the said "Luke Collingwood prevailed upon the crew, or the rest "of them, to listen to his said proposal; and the same "evening, and two or three or some few following days, "the said Luke Collingwood picked, or caused to be picked "out, from the cargo of the same ship, one hundred and

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" thirty-three slaves, all or most of whom were sick or weak, " and not likely to live; and ordered the crew by turns to " throw them into the sea; which most inhuman order was " cruelly complied with." I am informed, by a memorandum from the deposition of Kelsal the chief mate (one of the murderers), that fifty-four persons were actually thrown overboard alive on the 29th of November; and that forty-two more were also thrown overboard on the 1st December. And on this very day, the 1st December 1781, before the stock of water was consumed, there fell a plentiful rain, which, by the confession of one of their own advocates, " continued a day or two, and enabled them to collect six " casks of water, which was full allowance for eleven days, " or for twenty-three days at *half-allowance*;" whereas the ship actually arrived at Jamaica in twenty-one days afterwards—viz. on the 22d December 1781. They seem also to have had an opportunity of sending their boat for water no less than thirteen days sooner, viz. on the 9th December, when they " made the west end of Jamaica, " distant two or three leagues only," as I am informed by a person who was on board: and yet, notwithstanding this proof of a possibility that they might perhaps obtain further supplies by rain, or that they might be able to hold out with their new-increased stock of water till they might chance to meet with some ship, or be able to send to some island for a further supply, they nevertheless cast *twenty-six more* human persons alive into the sea, *even after the rain**, whose hands were also fettered or bound; and which was done, it seems, in the sight of many other unhappy sufferers that were brought up upon the deck for the same detestable purpose, whereby ten of these miserable human creatures were driven to the lamentable necessity of jumping overboard, to avoid the fettering or binding of their hands, and were likewise drowned!

Thus one hundred and thirty-two innocent human

* See Vouchers.

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persons were wilfully put to a violent death, not on account of any mutiny or insurrection, nor even through the fear of any such—(for the circumstance of being brought up upon the deck with their hands loose, and in so large a number together as more than ten at one time, and also the circumstance of binding and casting others overboard in their presence, which terrified ten of them into the desperate act of jumping overboard, entirely excludes the least idea of fearing an insurrection),—but merely on a pretended plea of *necessity through the want of water* (as alleged by the murderers)—a plea of necessity which is confuted even by the circumstances of the evidence produced in favour of it!—a want, which was so far from taking place when the murder was committed, that they had at least two hundred gallons of fresh water, *by their own confession*, besides two butts and a half of what they called sour water, and that neither the slaves, nor the crew, had been put to short allowance, which management would have subsisted the whole number till the rain afforded them a comfortable supply *. So that, even if the plea of necessity for the wilful murder of innocent persons was at all admissible (which it never can be) in a case of want or scarcity, yet no such necessity existed in the present case; because it is proved, even by their own evidence, that the stock of water was sufficient to have held out till the time that an ample supply was actually received. —But there never can be a necessity for the wilful murder of an innocent man, notwithstanding the high authority of those learned and dignified persons who seem to have conceived a contrary idea †, because wilful murder is one of the worst evils that can happen among men; so that the plea of a necessity to destroy a few men in order to save many, is not only the adoption of a declared damnable doctrine ("Let us do evil that good may come!"), which is extreme wickedness, but is also extreme ignorance; for it is obvious

* Vouchers. † Ibid.

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that the death of many by misfortune, which is properly in the hand of Divine Providence, is not near so great an evil as the murder of a few, or even of *one* innocent man —the former being the loss only of temporal lives, but the latter endangers the eternal souls, not only of the miserable aggressors themselves, but the souls also of all their indiscriminate abettors and favourers. God's vengeance is so clearly denounced against *wilful murder*, that it is certainly a "malum in se" of the most flagrant and odious nature, such as cannot, without extreme ignorance of the English common law, be admitted in a legal justification; because our law supposes that all honest and true men ("probi et legales homines") have the fear of God before their eyes (*the contrary* being the preamble to arraignment and condemnation): and, consequently, all men, in all countries *where Christianity is to be deemed an established part of the law (as in England)*, are required not to fear even death, or any thing that can hurt the body, so much as Him who hath power over both body and soul. And therefore, whenever a man wilfully takes the life of an innocent man on pretence of necessity to save his own, in any case where the plea of *se-defendendo* will not hold (which requires proof of an actual attack by the deceased, who therefore is *not an innocent* man—such an attack as must be inevitable by any other means than the death-wound), such a man, I say, is guilty of a *felonious homicide*, and also of (what is equally cognisable by our common law) a gross contempt of God, in being more afraid of death and of temporal sufferings, than of God's eternal judgment: so that the felonious disposition which our law condemns—viz. the not *having the fear of God before his eyes*—is clearly marked upon such an offender, and upon all his abettors and defenders! And, therefore, a learned and dignified lawyer did certainly place himself very inconsiderately under the same felonious description of mind, when he asserted, in behalf of these murderers, "*I could not suffer another man to live, when the single question*

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was, whether I should prefer my life to his," &c. I trust, from the general good character of this eminent person, that he did not mean what his words express; for a man who sets so high and over-rated a value on life, independent of all principle of right and the fear of God, is unfit to be trusted at all in any society.

I should not have taken notice of such an unreasonable argument, and much less have troubled your Lordships with it, did not the official dignity of the speaker, and his high reputation as a lawyer, compel me to guard against the adoption of his avowed doctrines in the present case; lest *precept*, as well as *impunity*, should encourage the Liverpool traders to multiply their murders, to the disgrace of the English name, and to the destruction of the human species. "If any man of them" (said the learned advocate for Liverpool iniquity, speaking of the murderers in the present case), "if any man of them was allowed to "be tried at the Old Bailey for a murder, I cannot help "thinking, if that charge of murder was attempted to be "sustained, it would be folly and rashness to a degree "of madness: and, so far from the charge of murder lying "against these people, there is not the least imputation— "of cruelty I will not say, but—of *impropriety: not in the "least!!!*"

This destruction of living men he considered, it seems, as if it were merely the case of chattels or goods. "It is "really so," says he: "it is the case of throwing over goods: "for to this purpose, and the purpose of this insurance, they "are goods and property; and whether right or wrong, we "have nothing to do with." But at the same time, he ought not to have forgot the *nature* of these goods or property, for that is the most material circumstance of the case; and yet he either indiscriminately overlooked, or criminally suppressed, this most indispensable point of consideration —viz. that it is also *the case of throwing over living men*; and that, notwithstanding they are, in one sense, unhappily considered as goods or chattels (to the eternal disgrace of

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this nation!), yet that still they are *men*; that their existence in *human nature*, and their actual rights as men, nay, as *brethren*, still remain! So that the supposed property in their persons (which is so highly, so shamefully favoured) is, after all, a very limited sort of property—limited, I say, by the inevitable consideration (if we are not *brutes* ourselves) of their *human nature*: and therefore the argument of the learned lawyer, asserting that this is the case of chattels or goods, whereby he endeavoured to suppress the idea of their being *at the same time* human persons, and the necessary consideration in favour of the *life of man*, which our law requires, is certainly *liable to the imputation*, not only *of cruelty* and *impropriety* (though he has asserted the contrary), but must also be imputed to the grossest indiscrimination, which is unpardonable in his profession as a lawyer, especially when the most obvious natural right of human nature is at stake —viz. the right even to life itself.

The *property* of these poor injured Negroes in *their own lives*, notwithstanding their unhappy state of slavery, was infinitely superior, *and more to be favoured, in law*, than the slave-holders' or slave-dealers' iniquitous claim of property in their *persons*: and therefore the casting them alive into the sea, though *insured* as property, and valued at thirty pounds per head, is not to be deemed the case of throwing over *goods*, &c., according to the learned advocate's indiscriminate argument—"as *any other irrational* cargo," says he, "*or inanimate cargo, might be*," &c.,—but it is a flagrant offence against God, and against all mankind; which, so far from deserving the favour of a judgment against the insurers, to make good the pecuniary value of the property as of mere goods and chattels, ought to have been examined and punished with the utmost rigour, for the exemplary prevention of such inhuman practices for the future; because our common law ought to be deemed competent to find a remedy in all cases of violence and injustice whatsoever. "*Lex semper dabit*

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remedium." "*Lex* HOMINEM *rebus ejus præfert, vitam et libertatem* (not the slave-holder's property) *et* JUSTITIAM *omnibus.*" "*Lex libertati, vitæ, pudicitiæ, et doti favet;* RECTO *autem in omnibus et* ANTE OMNIA." *Life* and *liberty*, therefore, are *rights* which demand favour and preference in law; so that a *right to live* ought by no means to have been suppressed in favour of a mere pecuniary claim in the most doubtful species of property, the service of Slaves, the very reverse of what the law is required to favour, and which it cannot countenance without tincture of iniquity, nor without violence to its own excellent principles. The learned lawyer ought not to have neglected these necessary maxims: but, on the contrary, his argument was so lamentably unworthy of his dignity and public character, and so banefully immoral in its tendency to encourage the superlative degree of all oppression, *Wilful Murder*, that the author of it, as well as the indiscriminate jury who favoured the horrible transaction by their judgment against the insurers, must be considered as abettors and parties, in the guilt at least, of all the murders of the same kind that may hereafter be promoted by this failure of justice, and by the lamentable want of distinction between good and evil which has been so notoriously manifested in this inhuman business.

The only pleas of necessity that can legally be admitted, or are worthy of being mentioned in this case, are—1st, A *necessity* incumbent upon the whole kingdom to vindicate our national justice, by the most exemplary punishment of the murderers mentioned in these vouchers;—2d, The *necessity* of putting an entire stop to the Slave Trade, lest any similar deeds of barbarity, occasioned by it, should speedily involve the whole nation in some such tremendous calamity as may unquestionably mark the avenging hand of God, who has promised *to destroy the* "*destroyers of the earth.*"

Old Jewry, 2d July, 1783.

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No. IX.

(*see* vol. ii. p. 8.)

SOME REMARKS ON A LATE ATTEMPT TO VINDICATE THE SLAVE TRADE BY THE LAWS OF GOD.

A REVEREND Author, Mr. Thomas Thompson, M. A., has lately attempted to prove, that "the African Trade for Negro Slaves is consistent with the principles of *humanity* and *revealed religion*."

From Leviticus xxv. 39—46, the Rev. Mr. Thompson draws his principal conclusion—viz. "that the buying and selling of Slaves is *not contrary to the laws of nature*; for" (says he) "the Jewish constitutions were strictly therewith consistent in all points;" and "these are, in certain cases, the rule by which is determined, by learned lawyers and casuists, what is or is not contrary to nature." But these premises are not true; for the Jewish constitutions were not strictly consistent with the laws of nature in all points, as Mr. Thompson supposes, and consequently his principal conclusion thereupon is erroneous. Many things were formerly tolerated among the Israelites, merely through the mercy and forbearance of God, in consideration of their extreme frailty and inability at that time to bear a more perfect system of law. Other laws there are in the Five Books (besides the ceremonial laws, now abrogated) which are merely municipal, being adapted to the peculiar polity of the Israelitish Commonwealth, on account of its situation in the midst of the most barbarous nations, whom the Hebrews were at all times but too much inclined to imitate.

The universal *moral laws*, and those of *natural equity*, are, indeed, every where plentifully interspersed amongst the peculiar laws above mentioned; but they may very

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easily be distinguished by every sincere Christian, who examines them with a liberal mind, because the benevolent purpose of the Divine Author is always apparent in those laws which are to be eternally binding: for it is the *reason* of the law which constitutes the *life of the law*, according to an allowed maxim of our own country, "Ratio legis est anima legis." (Jenk, cent. 45.) And with respect to these moral and equitable laws, I will readily agree, with the Reverend Mr. Thompson, that they are the best rules by which learned judges and casuists can determine what is or is not *contrary to nature. (Digression about Law of Nature.)*

But I shall now give a few examples of laws which are themselves contrary to nature, or natural equity, in order to show that Mr. Thompson's *premises* are totally false.

The Israelites were expressly permitted, by the laws of Moses, to give a bill of divorce to their wives whenever they pleased, and to marry other women; and the women who were put away were also expressly permitted by the Mosaic Law to marry again during the lives of their former husbands: all which practices were manifestly contrary to the law of nature in its purity, though not, perhaps, to the nature of our corrupt affections and desires. For Christ himself declares that "*from the beginning it was not so*" (Matt. xix. 8, 9); and at the same time our Lord informed the Jews, that "Moses, because of the hardness of their hearts," suffered them to put away their wives.

Neither was it according to the law of nature that the Jews were permitted, in their behaviour and dealings, to make a partial distinction between their brethren of the house of Israel and strangers. This national partiality was not, indeed, either commanded or recommended in their law, but tolerated, probably for the same reason as in the last-mentioned instance.—"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy *brother*," &c. "Unto a *stranger* thou mayest lend upon usury," &c. (Deut. xxiii. 19.) Again; "Of a *foreigner* thou mayest exact (that is, whatsoever *has been*

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lent, as appears by the preceding verses); but that which is thine with thy *brother*, thine hand shall release." (Deut. xv. 3.) Now all these laws were contrary to the law of *nature*, or *natural equity*, and were certainly annulled, or rather *superseded*, by the more perfect doctrines of UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE taught by Christ himself, who "came not to destroy but to *fulfil* the law."

In the Law of Moses we also read, "Thou shalt not avenge or bear grudge against the *children of thy people*; but thou shalt love thy *neighbour as thyself*." (Lev. xix. 18.) The Jews accordingly thought themselves sufficiently justified, if they confined this glorious perfection of charity —viz. *to love others as themselves*—to the persons mentioned in the same verse—viz. the *children of their own people*: for they had no idea that so much love could possibly be due to any other sort of neighbours or brethren. But Christ taught them, by the parable of the Good Samaritan, that *all strangers whatever*, even those who are declared enemies (as were the Samaritans to the Jews), are to be esteemed our neighbours, or brethren, whenever they stand in need of our charitable assistance. The Jewish institution, indeed, as Mr. Thompson remarks, permitted the use of bond-servants, but did not permit the *bondage of brethren*. Strangers only could be lawfully retained as bondmen: "Of the heathen" (or more agreeably to the Hebrew word, of the *nations*) "that are round about you: of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover, of the children of strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy." "They shall be your bondmen for ever." (Lev. xxv. 39—46.)

This was the law with respect to a stranger that was purchased: but with respect to a *brother*, or *Hebrew of the seed of Abraham*, it was far otherwise, as the same chapter testifies (39th verse): "If thy brother that dwelleth with thee be waxen poor, and be sold unto thee, thou *shalt not compel him to serve as a bond-servant*; but as a hired servant and a sojourner he shall be with thee, and

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shall serve thee unto the year of jubilee; and then *shall he depart from thee, both he and his children with him,*" &c. This was the utmost servitude that a Hebrew could *lawfully* exact from any of his *brethren* of the house of Israel, unless the servant entered voluntarily into a perpetual servitude. And let me add, that it is also the very utmost servitude that can lawfully be admitted *among Christians*, because we are bound, as Christians, to esteem *every man* our *brother* and our *neighbour*, which I have already proved; so that this consequence which I have drawn is absolutely unavoidable. The Jews, indeed, who do not yet acknowledge the commands of Christ, may perhaps still think themselves *justified*, by the Law of Moses, in making partial distinctions between *their brethren* of Israel and *other men*; but it would be inexcusable in Christians: and therefore I conclude that we certainly have no right to exceed the limits of servitude which the Jews were bound to observe whenever their poor *brethren* were sold to them: and I apprehend that we must not venture *even to go so far*, because the laws of *brotherly love* are infinitely enlarged and extended by the Gospel of Peace, which proclaims GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN without distinction; and because we cannot truly be said to *love our neighbours as ourselves*, or to *do to others as we would they should do unto us*, whilst we retain them against their will in a despicable servitude, as slaves and private property, or *mere chattels*. The glorious system of the Gospel destroys all narrow national partiality, and makes us citizens of the world, by obliging us to profess *universal benevolence*; but more especially are we bound, as Christians, to commiserate, and assist to the utmost of our power, all persons in distress or captivity, whatsoever the "worshipful Committee of Merchants trading to Africa" may think of it, or their advocate the Rev. Mr. Thompson.

Charity, indeed, begins at home, and we ought certainly to give the preference to our own countrymen, whenever

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we can do so without injustice; but we may not do evil that good may come (though statesmen and their political deceivers may think otherwise): we must not, for the sake of Old England and her African trade, or for the supposed advantage or imaginary necessities of our American colonies, lay aside our *Christian charity*, which we owe to all the rest of mankind, because, whenever we do so, we certainly deserve to be considered in no better light than as an overgrown society of robbers, a mere banditti, who perhaps may love one another, but at the same time are at enmity with all the rest of the world. &c. &c.

No. X.

(*see* vol. ii. p. 52.)

Extract of a Letter from Mr. A. Afzelius to his Excellency the Chevalier v. Engestrom, the Swedish Ambassador in London, dated Sierra Leone, 15th November, 1794.

"THE English colony at Sierra Leone had, like all other new colonies, in the beginning great difficulties to overcome; but order and industry had begun to show their effects in an increasing prosperity.—A new town has been laid out, with regular streets, and a little garden belonging to each house. The woods have been cut down to the distance of about half a Swedish mile (three and a half English) all round the town. By this means the climate is become healthier, and sickness has diminished. The fame of our colony has been spread, not only along the whole western coast of Africa, but also to parts far distant from the coast; and we have had embassies from kings and princes, several hundred miles distant, with the view of acquiring a better knowledge of us, and of obtaining our friendship. They began to send their children to us

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with full confidence, in order to be brought up in the Christian religion. In short, we were externally respected, and internally happy. For my own part, I could never wish for a better situation. I had every comfort I wanted. I had a house of my own, which was large enough to contain specimens of all the natural treasures of this coast. It was surrounded by a fine garden, in which I had myself planted the scarcest plants and the most beautiful aromatic flowers, which delightfully recompensed my pains. I had also many living animals, including about thirty birds. Natural curiosities poured into my collection from all quarters; and a fresh collection, which I began on the 4th of last August, was more valuable in the space of two months, than all that I had got together from the time of my last return to Sierra Leone.

"But all these treasures are no more. The French have been here, and have ruined us. They arrived on the 28th of September last, early in the morning. So well had they concealed their nation, that we all took them at first for English. They had English-built vessels, rigged in the English manner. They showed the English flag, and had their sailors (at least those whom we saw on deck) dressed like English. In short, we did not perceive our mistake, till we observed them pointing their guns. We had not strength sufficient to resist, and therefore our Governor gave orders that a flag of truce should be hoisted; but they still continued firing. As we did not understand the meaning of this proceeding, we asked them for an explanation, and they answered us, that we should display the *flag of liberty*, as a proof of our submission: we assured them that it should already have been done, if we had had any such flag; which terminated the hostilities from the ships.

"By this time most of the inhabitants had fled from the town. I was with the Governor, together with a number of others; but as soon as I was certain that it was an enemy's fleet, I went towards my own house, with a view

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to save as much as possible of my property and natural collections, but was received in such a manner that I could not venture to proceed. My house was situated near the shore, and unfortunately just opposite the frigate which fired. I saw the balls passing through the house, and heard them whizzing about my ears. I saw that I should lose all my property; but life was dearer to me, and I hastened to the woods.

"In the afternoon the enemy landed, finding the town almost destitute of people, but rich in provisions, clothing, and other stores. They began immediately to break open the houses, and plunder: what they did not want they destroyed, burned, or threw into the river. They killed all the cattle and animals they found in the fields, streets, yards, or elsewhere, not sparing even asses, dogs, and cats. These proceedings they continued the whole succeeding week, till they had entirely ruined our beautiful and prospering colony.

"When I returned to the town, I found my house converted into a melancholy guard-house: my money, clothes, my very valuable instruments, and most of my furniture, were either carried off or broken to pieces. The rest, which was of no use to the enemy, but on which I myself put just and great value, I had the mortification to find so totally destroyed, that the sight almost drew tears from my eyes. My neat and beautiful little garden I found entirely ruined, the trees cut down, and the plants pulled up by the roots. My living animals and birds were partly eaten, and partly thrown out of doors with their heads cut off. My library and collections of animals, fruits, and flowers (preserved in spirits of wine), of birds, insects, shells, herbarium fruits, and seeds, together with all my manuscripts, all were thrown down and spread over the whole floor, where they were mixed with offals of victuals, treacle, rum, beer, and other things of the kind.

"At last I received leave from the French Commodore to clear away this dirty mixture. I had then the floor swept,

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and collected what was not wholly spoiled, in three sacks, which now contain all the miserable remnants of my property, except the clothes on my back.

"When the enemy found nothing more worth plundering, they set fire to all the public buildings, and all the houses belonging to Europeans, and consequently to mine among the rest. Nine or ten houses of the colonists also were burnt by mistake.

"In the mean time, the enemy was not less active on the water. They took about ten or twelve prizes, including the Company's vessels; most of these they unloaded and burned. They took also two of our armed vessels, one of which was a large ship, laden with provisions, and which had been long expected by us, but unfortunately arrived a few days too soon, and was taken, with her whole cargo. We expected at least to receive our private letters: but even this was refused, and they were thrown overboard.

"At last, after inflicting on us every hardship we could suffer, only sparing our lives and the houses of the colonists, they sailed on the 13th October last at noon, proceeding downwards to the Gold Coast, and left us in the most dreadful situation, without provision, clothes, houses, or furniture. Most of us must have perished, had not our friends in the neighbourhood, both Natives and Europeans, who were so happy as to escape the enemy, kindly sent us what they could spare.

"Besides the common misfortune, I have several grievances which make me particularly uneasy. All that I could possibly save from destruction was a few books, some dry herbs and seeds, and only a few fragments of my manuscripts. These last were my most valuable property, and the only sure vouchers I could produce, to certify my perseverance and attention in my researches, in the course of my travels! But most of them are no more, and many of them can never be restored: as, for instance, my journal from the time I first came to this place till this terrible catastrophe, &c. Descriptions of natural productions,

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and of my collections, I might perhaps in a great measure replace, had I only the necessary instruments and other requisites; but I have lost all! What then can a poor beggar do in a desert? He must endeavour to employ his time in the best manner, patiently submit to the will of Providence, and wait until assistance can arrive.

" Before I finish, I beg leave to make two general observations on the conduct of the French in this place.—*First.* That they acted contrary to their own acknowledged fundamental principles—viz. *the spreading of light and liberty*—when they plundered this colony, which has been instituted for those very purposes; viz. to abolish the Slave Trade, to enlighten the Africans, and to render them virtuous and rational, free and happy. This establishment, which has no parallel in history, at first so much attracted the attention of the National Assembly, that several of its members, as I have been told, wrote to the Directors of the colony in London, and assured them that neither their ships nor colony should be exposed to the Republican arms. I have good reason to believe that this correspondence is yet preserved. That promise, once made to our Directors, had lulled both them and us in the colony into so profound a security, that neither they nor we could think of any possible attack, and consequently had not put ourselves in any state of defence.

" Secondly. That they acted against the laws of neutrality in plundering me. I told them that I was a Swede, and a naturalist, who was exposing my life in Africa for the sake of making discoveries for the benefit of all nations, and was residing here only for a certain time, without having any thing farther to do with the English.

" They all acknowledged that I was ill treated, and many of them even *insisted* that I ought to be indemnified for my loss. This sounds well; but that they did not appear to be serious, I think I can conclude from what I experienced. When I first entered into my house, and found that there were still some trunks left, I asked for one of

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them, but was answered that it belonged to the Captain of one of the frigates; and when I then asked for another, *that* belonged to *such* or *such* an officer, &c. &c. They had, however, just before agreed, that I had suffered much injury.

"The following day, when the Captain himself came on shore, I asked him for my trunk. He shrugged up his shoulders, and complained much of my misfortune, saying that he would do me this little favour with all his heart, if only it was in his power. Another time, I saw in my room a bed-cover. I asked the officer, who was on his post, for it, and he gave it to me; but a sailor came immediately and tore it from me, saying that it belonged to him, and I lost it. I could mention many similar instances. But the plain truth of the matter was, that the officers had no authority, and the sailors did what they pleased. The former were, in general, very sensible and respectable men, who were very sorry for those violences that were committed, but complained sincerely that it was totally out of their power to prevent them. The latter, or sailors, seemed in general, to be miserable and in great want, but, at the same time, cruel, and could be compared only to wild beasts, who live by devouring their prey."

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No. XI.

(*see* vol. ii. p. 106.)

REGULATIONS PROPOSED FOR THE SETTLERS AT SIERRA LEONE.

To the worthy Passengers on board the Myro Brig.

"Dear Friends, "Leadenhall Street, 20th May, 1788.

"I SEND you enclosed a copy of the long letter which I wrote, on the 16th instant, to the inhabitants of the Province of Freedom in Sierra Leone, which will explain many circumstances to you, that would otherwise require a distinct recital in this letter. I send you also a copy of my charter-party with Captain John Taylor for the Myro brig, that you may be thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the service for which I have engaged him, and also the copy of a second agreement with Captain Taylor, to deliver live stock at Sierra Leone for the use of the new settlement.

"I have sent you a list on board of all the provisions, stores, clothing, &c., which have been shipped, on my account, for your use, and for the use of the settlement; and I desire that all persons on board the Myro, who may be desirous of making copies of the said list, and also of the charter-party for the ship, and of the agreement for cattle, shall be permitted to do so, and to have recourse to them at all convenient times, that they may know what stores are on board, for the common good, and that they may be fully informed of the general intentions of this expedition, in which they are all equally interested. And I appoint Messrs. Richard Collins, Henry Estwick, John Irwin, Thomas Peal, Alexander Sanders, and Charles Tacitus, to be trustees on my part, to take charge of all the said stores, provisions, &c., and to appropriate them

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to the several purposes expressed in this letter, and also in my letter to the people at the settlement. I request that all the rest of the passengers, both male and female, above sixteen years of age, and not named as trustees, shall elect one other careful sober person, who can read and write, to be added as a seventh trustee, with equal powers to the six trustees already named: and if it should please God that any of the trustees should die, or if a vacancy should happen by their leaving the ship, or any other means, the whole body of the passengers, above sixteen years of age, must fill up the vacancy by a free election, and must appoint such persons as the majority of them shall choose. And I desire that the said seven trustees so appointed, and so elected as proposed, shall give a certificate, or certificates, to Captain Taylor (or his representative), agreeably to the true performance of his charter-party and agreement.

"I must also request, that, as soon as the ship leaves the port of London, all the male passengers, above sixteen years of age, will form themselves into dozens; and that each dozen will elect a head-borough, and an assistant head-borough, whose authority must be controlled by the majority of votes in each dozen. If any dispute should arise in any of the dozens, which cannot be settled by the majority in that dozen, a court of common council must be formed, by assembling all the dozens; and either an election must be made of one of the head-boroughs to preside in the assembly, or else it must be decided by lot which of the head-boroughs shall preside in the common council.

"The dozen which is first formed and completed must be deemed the first dozen, and must be distinguished accordingly; and so of the second and third, in numerical order.

"If you can make a general agreement amongst yourselves to consume only half of the usual daily allowance of provisions, it will certainly contribute much to your health

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during the voyage, and be of great advantage to yourselves, by leaving a larger proportion of provisions to be distributed amongst you, when you land in the settlement. I have no interest in giving this advice: the provisions are now your own, and of course a prudent œconomy in the use of them is only for your own advantage; and therefore you yourselves must take care that the steward has a book, properly ruled, with the names of all the passengers, that the account of provisions, issued to each person may be duly inserted opposite to their names; that those who are prudent and temperate in their diet may be enabled to receive, at the end of the voyage, all their due proportions of the remaining provisions, together with their saving from their daily allowance.

"It is probable that some persons on board may have rum, brandy, or other spirituous liquors to dispose of among the people: if this should be the case, I hope you will carefully regard the purchasers, and warn them not to drink the spirits without being duly mixed with water; and, if any person should be intoxicated, that you will represent it either to the dozen in which he is incorporated, or else in your general assembly, that the offence may be duly reproved, and a suitable fine levied, either of *labour* to be worked out at the settlement, or else a *forfeiture of half the allowance* of provisions, for the benefit of the rest, for as many days as the majority shall think just; and in like manner also for every other misdemeanour, and more especially for profane swearing or taking God's name in vain, and for any affront, indecency, or improper behaviour, in the opinion of the majority of the assembly, toward any woman, whether married or single: for such discipline is absolutely necessary, to prevent jealousies and disputes amongst you.

"In my letter to the people of the New Settlement I have strongly represented the necessity of maintaining a free militia of all the males above sixteen years of age;

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and it is highly expedient that you should prepare yourselves with a knowledge of military exercise, by a daily training one-third part of the able men at a time, during the voyage. I have sent on board thirty-five muskets, with bayonets, and a proportion of powder and shot; which are more, I believe, than will be wanted for the number of males on board: but I do not give these to the passengers, but to the whole settlement, lest the people there should have imprudently parted with the arms that were left last year; and in that case, the people of the settlement must give indents to their own public bank for the value of these arms: and thirty-five stand of arms, I believe, will be sufficient for carrying on the watch and ward of the whole settlement. Nevertheless, on your arrival, and previous to your landing, I desire that all the male passengers, capable of bearing arms, may be accoutred with those arms, and with cutlasses and belts (of which there are fifty on board), that you may land in a decent and military order, that your presence may be respected both by the settlers and the natives of the neighbourhood. . . . . The retaining on deck one-third of the men at one time by rotation will tend to the health of the passengers; and if you can agree amongst yourselves, by common consent, to establish also a regular watch-duty by night as well as by day, it will inure you to such military discipline as will conduce much to your future safety, and will be an effectual check against the ill behaviour of individuals; because the constable of the night who commands the watch must arrest and confine all disorderly persons, until they are examined by a court of all the dozens assembled together. I have provided six stout watch-coats for the night-watch, as also two dozen of leather caps, with capes to secure the necks of the wearer from cold and wet, which will be very useful also at the settlement in the rainy season.

"I earnestly request that all the people may be assembled at prayers morning and evening, and that you will previously appoint from amongst yourselves some proper

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persons to take their turns in reading; and also that you will endeavour to inculcate amongst yourselves a due sense of your entire dependence on the providence of God for your safety and success in the present expedition.

"As for myself, I have neither spared labour nor expense to procure for you, to the utmost of my abilities (and even beyond), whatever seemed to be immediately necessary; and therefore you cannot doubt my wishes and prayers for your happiness, and more especially that you may deserve it; that I may ever remain your sincere friend and servant, "GRANVILLE SHARP."

"P. S. After this letter has been read, I must request that some proper person on board may be appointed to write a copy of it; and that any other person afterward, who is capable of writing, may have recourse to it, in order to copy it, as also to take copies of the charter-party and agreement with Captain Taylor, and of the invoice of all the clothing, arms, implements, stores, provisions, and money shipped at my expense, for the benefit of the passengers and settlement, that they may have full information of the intended appropriation of all these articles, and of the general design of the whole expedition, in which every individual among them is deeply interested.

"I have ordered a cask of seeds to be carried out for your use: but observe, that you will be careful to procure also at the Cape de Verd Islands, some other seeds and plants, as Indian corn, yams, plantains, cocoa nuts of both kinds, and plants of orange-tree of the China kind (the only oranges at the settlement being of the Seville kind), figs, olives, vines, and whatever other plants you may deem most profitable.

"The lemon, or lime-tree, may be found in great abundance at the settlement, and grows there so rapidly, that mere stakes or bavins, cut from that tree, and stuck in the ground, will in a very short time strike root downwards, and branch out upward, so as to form an impenetrable

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fence against the panthers, and other wild beasts, for the preservation of the cattle and fowls. A ditch must first be made, and the earth from it must be thrown up as a bank, or dike, on the inside of the ditch; and on the top of that bank of earth the lime-stakes must be stuck in a row, like palisadoes, and the rest of the bank on both sides may be usefully occupied by any useful vegetable you may think proper to plant. This is called a tirpado fence, and is deemed the most effectual, though it is most easily made."

No. XII.

GENERAL ASYLUM.—(*see* vol. ii. p. 189.)

The Plan of a public Charity proposed by ——— ——— to which (if adopted by the City of London) he will appropriate a small Estate in the County of———, given to him, with a Recommendation to settle it on some public Charity after his Death, but the Manner of Disposal is left entirely to his own Option.

FIRST, —— —— proposes to present a deed of gift to the Corporation of London, of the estate and manor of ——, to take place after his death, when the present legacies and other charges upon it shall be duly cleared), on condition that the Corporation shall immediately appropriate a part of their own revenues to support some additional regulations for Bridewell Hospital (such as may afford a worthy example to the magistrates or trustees of all other Houses of Correction throughout the kingdom): viz.—that disorderly people, committed to that Hospital (especially very young girls of the town, and boys detected in pilfering), shall not be whipped and then turned loose again upon the town, as usual, to the destruction both of themselves and others, but shall be detained, under proper

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instruction both of religion and useful labour, with a very small limited allowance of food, and no strong liquor, until some creditable housekeeper will pledge (respectively for each) their future good behaviour. The Common Law will warrant such continued confinement of disorderly or suspected persons, who have no lawful calling, nor any honest means of subsistence.

And, secondly, That the revenues of the London Workhouse, with sufficient additions from the City, shall be appropriated to a General Asylum (for Foreigners and Strangers as well as English) consisting of three separate parts—viz. one for males, another for females, and a third for families—where all industrious persons, who cannot elsewhere procure work, shall find temporary shelter and employment for a limited time, without incurring the unmerited opprobrium and inconvenience of being deemed parish paupers: for persons who are really willing to labour, ought not to suffer the disgrace and inconveniences which the Statute Law has indiscriminately thrown upon the poor, whereby many of their civil rights are suspended. The children to be turned over to the care of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, with proper allowance, from the Corporation of London, for their being instructed in separate inferior schools for mere reading and labour. The sick to be sent to St. Bartholomew's or St. Thomas's Hospital, the disorderly to Bridewell, and the lunatics to Bethlehem, on the order of a joint Committee of Governors, to be nominated by the Governors of Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell, and Bethlehem Hospitals, selected from their respective lists of Governors (viz. six from each list) by the Court of each Hospital; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, for the time being, to be perpetual Governors and Members of the Committee; so that, by means of the General Asylum, an effectual union may be formed of all the Royal Hospitals in the City whereby an immediate relief may be obtained from any of their respective foundations.

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If the Courts of the said Hospitals, or any of them, should neglect to nominate as proposed, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London may select the number wanted from the lists of Governors of the said Hospitals, and nominate thence such persons to be Governors of the General Asylum as they think will be most likely to attend this charitable public service.

The Court of Aldermen to elect, from their own body, a President; and the twenty-four Governors, from the four Royal Hospitals, to elect a Vice-President; and the whole Committee of Governors to elect a Treasurer, Vice-Treasurer, and Secretary. And that a Committee-room be appointed at Guildhall, that the assistance of the Aldermen may be more easily obtained.

Thirdly, That an experiment be made of the utility of a College of Industry, to be established in the country, at some little distance from London, with twenty or thirty acres of land annexed to it, as an appendage to the General Asylum, for the reception and employment of a part of the poor people who want work. The proposer lately sold a field of about four acres, to be appropriated to a parish poor-house; and he has reason to believe that poor people from the General Asylum, not accustomed to work in any manufactory, might be very profitably employed in agriculture and gardening, but more particularly in raising roots for the food and increase of live stock, both beasts and fowls, and in the care and management of the same which would be very advantageous to the public, though, perhaps, at first attended with some extraordinary expense to the City. This might be conducted on the plan published in the year 1696, "for Colleges of Industry of all useful Trades and Husbandry," which is here annexed; but, with respect to those that have not been taught any trade, and especially women and children, they may, in general, be employed in spinning ordinary thread and yarn, to make clothing and bedding for the Asylum, and

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also in washing and mending the clothes, and otherwise assisting and providing for the helpless people in the Asylum and several Hospitals.

Elderly women, turned of sixty years of age, that can produce good characters for sobriety, honesty, and prudence, may be entrusted with the inspection and care of others, as matrons, and also as teachers in the inferior working-schools, when they have sufficient abilities.

Fourthly, It is proposed to solicit the assistance and subscription of private individuals, in order to render the charity more general and effectual; and that each subscriber shall have a number of tickets for the reception of distressed persons in the Asylum, in proportion to the sum subscribed. The tickets to be purchased of the Committee of Governors before proposed, or at their office, which might be established at Christ's Hospital, Bridewell Hospital, or Guildhall. A half-guinea ticket will afford warm and clean lodging and necessary subsistence for one man for twenty-one days; a guinea ticket for forty-two days, and so on in proportion; whereby benevolent persons will have it in their power to do more effectual charity to the poor than in any other way, and less liable to abuses. This fourth branch of the Charity may be conducted on the plan "to prevent starving," proposed by the late benevolent ——— ———, except in the mode of appointing Governors; because it is necessary that a Committee of Governors should be formed (as proposed above) from the Governors of the several established hospitals, in order to render the general relief of the distressed more immediate and effectual by such an united Committee. Nevertheless, that as little deviation as possible may be made from the plan of ———, the united Committee might with propriety select and appoint some additional Governors from the list of voluntary subscribers, viz. persons of unexceptionable character (in the opinion of the general united Committee) who shall

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voluntarily contribute such a certain adequate sum as may be thought proper to entitle them to a share in the management of the whole charity.—It is by no means intended that the proposed united Committee, as such, shall obtain any power of interference or controul over the Royal Hospitals, but merely that of giving immediate relief to proper objects, by sending them occasionally to the said Hospitals, which, as Governors, respectively, they are at present entitled to do.

And, with respect to the poor children, proposed to be sent to inferior schools under the inspection of the Governors of Christ's Hospital, the necessary allowance for the expense of each child must undoubtedly be made to that Hospital by the General Asylum (or London Workhouse), from the subscriptions or other funds; and the consent of the Governors of Christ's Hospital must also be previously obtained, to undertake the management of such additional charity, which they have certainly a right to do, if they think proper, without any impediment from their charter or present constitution.

No. XIII.

(*see note in* vol. ii. p. 292.)

COMPARISON OF BRUTE ANIMALS WITH MAN.

A FRAGMENT.

A COMPARISON of the gratitude of brute animals with that of mankind in general, for favours and kindness conferred, affords abundant cause of censure on the latter, whose general depravity, far exceeding that of the brute creation, must be attributed to the fatal influence of inimical spirits or demons over unguarded men.

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When a school-boy, I had various animals, at different times, under my protection, as favourites: and the affection even of the meanest of them, a jack-daw, cannot possibly be described in words, so strongly as it was expressed in the bodily exertions of the little animal, when he heard my foot upon the steps of the house returning from school, that he might hasten to meet me.

The same kind of gratitude I have often experienced in dogs, not my own, in return only for a little common civility and gentleness towards them, which they never forgot.

But mankind in general, though they are rendered responsible, by the knowledge of good and evil, for all their actions, words, and even thoughts, and ought, of course, to be aware that all the benefits they receive are from God—for "in Him we live, and move, and have our being," as St. Paul declared to the pagans at Athens, Acts xvii. 28—yet multitudes of persons, both high and low, seem so little sensible of his continual presence, that they treat even his Name with the most contemptuous disrespect and ingratitude, by repeating it in the most idle foolish discourses almost at every sentence, though God has declared that he will not hold them guiltless that take his Name in vain. By such ingratitude for the Divine favours, inconsiderate men degrade themselves far below the brute creation, even of dogs and jack-daws, which are never ungrateful.

"Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth! for the Lord hath spoken. I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me!" And then, immediately after, our Heavenly Father produces the comparison of a contrary principle of gratitude in the brute creation: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know; my people do not consider. Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters; they have forsaken the Lord!"—Isaiah i. 2—4.

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A similar preference was given to the mere animal creation by the Almighty Creator, as declared by his prophet Jeremiah, viii. 7:—"Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people know not the judgment of the Lord." . . .

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